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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE DEPICTION OF MU'ĀWIYA IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC SOURCES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MARCH 2002

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

In this work, I have employed the system of the transliteration of Arabic used by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. For details consult the chart at the end of any issue in the journal mentioned above. My only adjustment to that system is the elimination of the final 'h' which is only written as '-at' in the construct state.

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ABSTRACT

This work is an attempt to understand and correctly interpret the commentaries of the early Muslim historians on the Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān (ruled 41-60 A.H./661-680 C.E.). Mu'āwiya's depiction in the early Muslim narratives is very much dependent on the period in which these accounts take place and reflects the attitudes of narrators to the events of those periods. The dissertation has been divided according to the number of different, sometimes diametrically opposed depictions, which happen to fall into three different periods: pre-civil war, civil war, and post-civil war.

In the chapter on "pre-civil war Mu'āwiya," the three episodes chosen capture the general depiction of Mu'āwiya in that period. Mu'āwiya's character plays the role of an obedient governor of the province of Syria. In these depictions there are references to his great strategy, his bravery, his loyalty, and his piety. The reason for such a positive characterization, it is argued, is that here the stories and the persona of Mu'āwiya is not yet touched by the historical tragedy of the first civil war.

In Chapter three, "civil war Mu'āwiya," there are also three episodes that are analogous to those of the second chapter. In this period, Mu'āwiya's character quite suddenly takes on a very negative form. It is argued that the depiction of Mu'āwiya during the civil war has to be understood as an effort by the early narrators to create parallelisms between 'Alī's struggle against Mu'āwiya and the Prophet's struggle against Abū Sufyān. For this reason, it is almost impossible to get at the issues behind

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the struggle. However, this is not the case in the accounts discussed in the fourth and fifth chapters.

Chapters four and five, "post-civil war Mu'āwiya," deal with two incidents that loom large in the narratives of the early Muslim historians. These incidents are the killing of Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī and the appointment of Yazīd as heir apparent, respectively. In both these episodes Mu'āwiya's character wavers between the proverbial Arab shaykh and the despot. In Chapter four, Mu'āwiya's depiction depends on the narrators' views of Ḥujr's personality. In chapter five, the accounts of Mu'āwiya are to be apprehended as attempts of regional and political actors at understanding their acceptance of the appointment of Yazīd as heir apparent.

This work has uncovered the paradigms utilized by the early historians in their depictions of Mu'āwiya. It also shows that although the personality of Mu'āwiya has been manipulated by the early Islamic sources, the essential building blocks of his history remains uniform throughout even the most hostile of these sources towards Mu'āwiya.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this dissertation is the depiction of Mu'āwiya in the early Islamic sources. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, who ruled the Islamic empire from 41-60 A.H./661-680 C.E. is seen by Western scholars as either the first or as the second Umayyad Caliph due to the fact that 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who ruled before him from 23-35 A.H./644-656 C.E., was also an Umayyad. 'Uthmān however did not found a dynasty and he is normally considered among the Rashidūn.[1] In addition Mu'āwiya and his line, which came to an end with the death of his grandson Mu'āwiya II in 64 A.H./683 C.E., are termed the Sufyānid in counterdistinction to the Marwānid line of the dynasty.

Mu'āwiya's life in brief goes as follows: He was born, probably, in the beginning of the seventh century. His father was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abd al-Shams, the leader of the Umayyad clan and of the Meccan opposition to Muḥammad, and his mother was Hind b.'Utba b. Rabī'ā b.'Abd al-Shams, whom the stories in the *sīra* depict as being even more vociferous than her husband in her opposition to Muḥammad.[2] According to most sources, Mu'āwiya converted at the last possible moment, at the conquest of Mecca (8 A.H./629 C.E.), although some sources say that he converted earlier, in the year of Ḥudaybiyya (6 A.H./629 C.E.) but kept it a

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[1]The term given to the first four rightly guided caliphs, namely: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī.

[2]H. Lammens, "Mu'āwiya." *E.I.*,[1] vol. 3, pp. 617-621; M. Hinds, "Mu'āwiya." *E.I.*,[2] vol. 7, pp. 263-268.

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secret from his parents.[3] He is known to have worked as a scribe for the Prophet but it was later, during the caliphates of Abū Bakr (11-13 A.H./632-634 C.E.) and 'Umar (13-23 A.H./634-644 C.E.), that his career as a military governor began. With the assassination of the Caliph 'Uthmān in 35 A.H./656 C.E. Mu'āwiya was either thrust or thrust himself (depending on the source) into the leadership of the Community of the faithful. It is generally accepted that he was given the *bay'a* (oath of allegiance) by the Syrians during the caliphate of 'Alī, after the breakdown of the arbitration meeting during the first civil war in Dhu'l Qa'da 37 A.H./April-May 658 C.E.[4] After the assassination of the caliph 'Ali in 40 A.H./661 C.E., Mu'āwiya was given the so-called general *bay'a* and was recognized by most of the community as Caliph on Rabī'a I or Jumādā I 41 A.H./ July or September 661 C.E.[5] He ruled for almost twenty years, which is a long time judging by the standards of other caliphs.

In terms of modern scholarship on his life, most, if not all, Western scholars agree that he actually existed. Mu'āwiya is one of the few early caliphs that non-Islamic sources mention by name,[6] and the earliest one who has had an inscription of his name survive to this day.[7] On the other hand, there is a great divergence of opinion amongst modern scholars, both Muslim and non-Muslim, on his personality.

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[3]Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1985), vol. 7, p. 406; Ibn Sa'd, *al Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Riyāḍ 'Abdallāh 'Abd al-Hādī, New ed (Beirut: Dār al-Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1995), Supplement to vol. 7, p. 486 (henceforth Ne.); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd 'Umar b. Gharāma al-'Amrawī, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995-1998), vol. 59, p. 57; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979), vol. 4, p. 13 (It should be noted that in the Balādhurī story, although Mu'āwiya is supposed to have converted before the conquest of Mecca, the exact time is left ambiguous).

[4]See Appendix A, where we discuss the problem of when Mu'āwiya became caliph.

[5]M. Hinds, "Mu'āwiya," p. 265.

[6]R.W. Thomson and James Howard-Johnston, *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999); Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam As Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings On Early Islam* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1997).

[7]Yizhar Hirschfeld and Giora Solar, "The Roman Thermae at Ḥammat Gader: Preliminary Report of Three Seasons of Excavations," *Israel Exploration Journal* 31 (1981), pp. 197-219; Judith

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Some modern scholars find Mu'āwiya to have been an intelligent, politically astute leader who not only deserved the caliphate but rescued the Islamic empire by his shrewd policies.[8] Others see him as a cowardly usurper who did not deserve the Caliphate and debased the Islamic ideals in his takeover of the leadership of the Community.[9] The odd thing is that both sets of scholars use the same early Islamic sources to draw these conflicting conclusions. How they use these sources (not the divergent or absurd conclusions that they come up with) is the problem. Recently, Tayeb El-Hibri touched upon this very issue when he wrote: "the extant 'Abbāsid historical narratives were not intended originally to tell facts, but rather to provide commentary on a certain political, religious, social, or cultural issue that may have derived from a real and controversial historical episode."[10] Fred Donner also touches upon the problem when he writes:

Green and Yoram Tsafrir, "Greek Inscriptions from Ḥammat Gader: A Poem by the Empress Eudocia and Two Building Inscriptions," *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1982), pp. 77-96; Isaac Hasson, "Remarques sur L'inscription de l'époque de Mu'āwiya a Ḥammat Gader," *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1982), pp. 97-101; Joshua Blau, "The Transcription of Arabic Words and Names in the Inscription of Mu'āwiya from Ḥammat Gader," *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1982), p. 102; For a full list of the inscriptions and coins that bear the name of Mu'āwiya see: Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam As Others Saw It*, pp. 690-691.

[8] J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, trans. Margaret Graham Weir (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1927), especially pp. 1-113; Henri Lammens, *Etudes Sur le Siècle des Omayyades* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1930); Erling Ladewig Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya in early Arabic Tradition*, trans. P. Lampe Christensen (Denmark: Odense University Press, 1974); Petersen believes that political shrewdness, amongst others, won Mu'āwiya the caliphate. p. 12.

[9] On such a view see especially Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Ironically Madelung falls into the same trap that he accuses the above scholars of falling into, when it came to understanding the conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. Madelung tells us that earlier scholars have misread the early Islamic sources by attacking the personality of 'Alī. He himself attacks the personality of Mu'āwiya by accepting two sources' take, Abū Mikhnaf and Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, on the character of Mu'āwiya. He fails to realize that these particular sources are highly biased against Mu'āwiya. In fact, as we will show, these two sources are not historical works but salvation histories, in the same vein as are histories of the Saints/Martydoms. Madelung's failings are best summarized in Michael Morony's book review of Madelung's work in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 59 (2000) pp. 153-156. Morony writes, "In general, Madelung seems more interested in what should have happened than in the significance of what did happen." p. 156.

[10] Tayeb El. Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Narrative of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 13.

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> We cannot, as several authors have pointed out, treat the later compilations as historiographically neutral repositories of 'objective' information from which nuggets of early fact can simply be mined, without any understanding of the compilations themselves and the purpose behind them.[11]

There are a number of points being made above that may look, at first, contradictory but on closer examination are actually quite complementary. As this dissertation will show, we agree with both El-Hibri and Donner that for the most part these historical narratives are commentaries and not 'neutral repositories' of history. But we must also emphasize, more than El-Hibri does, that the historical episodes, particularly those of Mu'āwiya, are real, that is, the skeletal outline given above of his life is agreed upon by all of our early[12] Muslim historians.[13] The problem this dissertation will try address is to understand and correctly interpret the commentaries of the early Muslim historians, in particular on Mu'āwiya. The dissertation has therefore been divided according to the number of different, sometimes diametrically opposed, depictions of Mu'āwiya in the early Muslim narratives. These depictions relate to three distinct periods: the period before the civil war, the years of the civil war, and reports about events after the civil war. What is striking is that Mu'āwiya's character as it is depicted by these sources changes from one period to the next. These changes are profound and, more significantly, are contradictory and incompatible. Indeed, if it were not for the fact that it is Mu'āwiya whom the sources are talking about in each of these periods, we would have a very hard time recognizing him as the same person

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[11] Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1998), p. 126.

[12] We should point out that we have also utilized such late sources as Ibn Kathīr (701-775 A.H. /1301-1373 C.E.), which we have found to be quite useful.

[13] Although not an historian, al-Jāḥiẓ is one of the few commentators who has doubts about the arbitration agreement. See Appendix A.

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from one period to the next. It might be argued that the changes that occur in the three depictions simply reflect three stages in the career or personality of Mu'āwiya. According to this view, Mu'āwiya is an evolving character who ends up being that proverbial Arab shaykh once he becomes the ruler of the new empire. In this he is just like other famous personalities in early Islamic history who go through profound changes, such as the Caliph 'Umar II (99-101 A.H./ 717-720 C.E.). This would be true if in Mu'āwiya's characterization in these sources we could see some sort of progression or regression in his character. But as was stated above, these changes are contradictory and consequently may be attributable to the point of view of the narrator, rather than to change in the character of Mu'āwiya himself. Mu'āwiya's character, it will be shown, evolves in the narrative depictions because of the period of the narrative. Thus, pre-civil war Mu'āwiya and civil war Mu'āwiya appear to have nothing in common but the same name. These changes are depicted as permanent, with no glimpses of the previous or previews of the coming Mu'āwiya.[14] Although some stories may be set in the pre-civil war period, it will be noted that the insertion of Mu'āwiya was simply to give more credence to his negative character in the civil war period. We will select a number of stories from each period that best illustrate the theme of that 'period-Mu'āwiya.' Thus, chapter one will look at three stories that illustrate the pre-civil war Mu'āwiya, chapter two will also examine three stories, this time on the civil war Mu'āwiya, and chapters three and four, each having only one story, will look at the post-civil war Mu'āwiya. Granted there are many more than the number of stories that we have chosen, but it will be shown that the stories chosen are touchstones in which any other story, from that 'period-Mu'āwiya,' can be broken down in the same fashion to yield the very same results.

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[14]We should qualify this by stating that there are always negative previews of the coming Mu'āwiya and never any positive ones.

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As mentioned above, our dissertation will be divided into four chapters. In the first chapter, "pre-civil war Mu'āwiya," the three stories we have chosen, and other depictions of Mu'āwiya in that period, are not unlike stories about the other personalities that we read about in these very same sources. For the most part, Mu'āwiya is portrayed as an obedient governor of the province of Syria. In these depictions there are references to his great strategy, his bravery, his loyalty, and his piety. The reason for such a positive characterization, it will be argued, is that here the stories and the persona of Mu'āwiya are not yet touched by the historical tragedy of the first civil war. Mu'āwiya's character is very much a positive Islamic one. Even his actions towards the opposition (those who questioned Quraysh's hegemony), as will be shown in our first chapter, neither are characterized as neither positive nor negative. The depiction itself, it will be shown, was the result of the narrative's source rather than an attempt at a negative association. Such negative association, in fact, occurs in later episodes, which we shall show in our second chapter.

In Chapter two, "civil war Mu'āwiya," we will look at three stories that provide sharp contrast to those examined in our first chapter. In this period, Mu'āwiya's character quite suddenly takes on a very negative form. The reason for this change is that most, if not all, of the early Muslim historians were working from a 'blueprint,' a model if you will, when it came to Mu'āwiya and his war with 'Alī. Although it can be argued that there was no single model or 'blueprint,' the book *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* by Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī (d. 212 A.H./827 C.E.) is a very close facsimile.[15] Later historians, such as Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ (d. 240 A.H./ 854 C.E.), al-Balādhurī (d. 276 A.H./ 889 C.E.), Ibn 'Asākir (d. 572 A.H./ 1176 C.E.), Ibn al-Jawzī (d.598 A.H./ 1201 C.E.), Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 A.H./ 1233 C.E.), al-Dhahabī (d.748 A.H./ 1348

[15]One can argue that Abū Mikhnaf's narration, on which al-Ṭabarī relies almost exclusively for his depiction of the battle of *Ṣiffīn*, is the real 'blue print' because of its possible earlier dating. We have chosen *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* because most of the narratives within the text, as we will show in chapter two, have been utilized much more by later historians than those of Abū Mikhnaf.

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C.E.), and Ibn Kathīr (d. 775 A.H./ 1373 C.E.), all use that blueprint for their depiction of the first civil war. None of their depictions seems to stray too far from that 'blue print,' even those historians whose point of view is diametrically opposed to that of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim. The only variation is in the tone of the anti-Mu'āwiya language; in the above-mentioned historians' works, that tone is very much diluted, but the framework as it was first presented in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* is very much the same.

It seems that when early narrators such as Naṣr b. Muzāḥim and possibly Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157 A.H./ 774 C.E.) wrote about the first civil war they shaped it in the form of 'salvation history,'[16] a play, if you will, about the struggle of the rightful *imām* 'Alī against the usurper Mu'āwiya.[17] This was done in order to make the story resonate within the Islamic community. To do this as effectively as possible these early narrators, as Marilyn Robinson Waldman argues, tended ". . . to fit the events of a reformer's life into the pattern of Muḥammad's career, regardless of whether the reformer had consciously done so himself."[18] Although 'Alī was not a reformer, his struggle with Mu'āwiya was patterned in the above-mentioned way. By using terms that were used earlier against the polytheists in the Prophetic story to describe Mu'āwiya, early historians (narrators) were able to get their point across quite effectively. Wadād al-Qāḍī illustrates this point through an example from Islamic

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[16]Those being 'saved' are those who followed the rightful imām, 'Alī, as opposed to those who are 'dammed' i.e., the followers of Mu'āwiya.

[17]Although one can say that there was an earlier struggle, at least in the minds of Shī'īs, between 'Alī and other usurpers such as Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān. Yet the fringing of the Umayyads probably took place much earlier than that of the Rāshidūn, most probably with the help of 'Abbāsid propaganda. For further on Shī'ī attitudes to the Rāshidūn and the Umayyads see Etan Kohlberg, *Belief and Law in Imami Shī'īsm* (Vermont: Gower Publishing Co. 1991).

[18]Marilyn Robinson Waldman, *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1980), p. 9.

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literature.[19] This example takes the form of a letter from one Bishr b. Abī Kubār al-Balawī to Ibrāhīm b.'Ubaydallāh al-Ḥajabī. Al-Qāḍī explains that the letter

> is built on a foundation of intrinsic parallelism between what the letter goes through in terms of real events and personalities, and what the Prophetic *sīra* went through in terms of these same things, to the point where one can not find a whole sentence which is not taken from the Qur'ān or the *ḥadīth* and one will not find a reference to one event [from the addressee's life] that does not have its base in the Prophetic *sīra*.[20]

It is in this same way, but less obviously, that the narrators use different terms and events from the *sīra* to illustrate the wrongs of Mu'āwiya in his struggle against 'Alī. Thus, as will be illustrated in our second chapter, the depiction of Mu'āwiya during the civil war has to be understood as an effort by the early narrators to create parallels between Mu'āwiya's struggle against 'Alī and Abū Sufyān's struggle against the Prophet. For this reason it is almost impossible to get at the issues behind the struggle. This is not the case, however, in the accounts discussed in our third and fourth chapters.

Chapters three and four deal with two incidents that loom large in the narratives of the early Muslim historians. The third chapter, "post-civil war Mu'āwiya: The Ḥujr incident," deals with Mu'āwiya's killing of Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī, while chapter four, "post-civil war Mu'āwiya: The *bay'a* to Yazīd," deals with Mu'āwiya's appointment of his son as heir apparent. Except for these two incidents, Mu'āwiya's role and character within the Islamic narratives borders on the anecdotal. In these other anecdotes, Mu'āwiya becomes the proverbial Arab shaykh who is interested in pre-Islamic stories

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[19]Wadād al-Qāḍī, *Bishr ibn abī Kubār al-Balawī: namūdhaj min al-nathr al-fannī al-mubakkir fī al-Yaman* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1985), pp. 175-178.

[20] Al-Qāḍī, *Bishr ibn abī Kubār al-Balawī*, p. 137.

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about the Arabs,[21] or as an enlightened despot in whose presence differing opinions are exchanged. The anecdotal stories that depict these sessions usually center around two personalities, each one representing a certain prominent family ('Alid, 'Abbasid, Zubayrid, or Umayyad) and Mu'āwiya. Usually either one of the persons present or Mu'āwiya makes an anti-Hashimite statement, upon which he is rebuffed by a person of the Banū Hāshim or by a pious personality, upon which Mu'āwiya agrees, even if it means that Mu'āwiya or the Umayyads are insulted in the process. It is only when Mu'āwiya acts in a Machiavellian manner that the narratives reflect an actual historical situation, rather than the usual vague moralizing anecdote. The killing of Ḥujr b. 'Adī and the appointment of Yazīd depict Mu'āwiya as acting in a Machiavellian manner. We will show that both these incidents only became important in hindsight, Ḥujr because of his 'Alid/pious proclivity and Yazīd because he ruled when al-Ḥusayn was killed. In this way the true debate surrounding the incidents is all but lost on us. Thus chapter three will show that Ḥujr's killing was utilized by the piety-minded, the 'Alids and others, for their own purposes. Chapter four will show that the story of the *bay'a* to Yazīd was utilized by, amongst others, regional narrators in order to uphold their region's hegemony over the election of the caliph. It will also be shown that the words used by these characters in their discussion over the caliphate are attempts at clarifying differing political positions on that subject.

Before moving on to depictions of Mu'āwiya, a few remarks on the sources used in our dissertation are in order.

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[21] In al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥiyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1948), vol. 3, pp. 40-41, al-Mas'ūdī tells us that Mu'āwiya used to spend a third of the night listening to stories of the Arabs, the Persians, and other peoples.

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Our Sources

Many modern scholars[22] have come to realize that the extant Islamic literary sources[23] that we have today are the accumulation of many varied narratives that have been compiled or redacted by later historians. This view is best illustrated by Donner when he writes:

> These narrative sources, dating from the second, third, and fourth centuries AH, are mostly compilations based on material derived from earlier collections (which may themselves have been assemblages of yet older materials). The content of these collections was unquestionably shaped in significant measure by the historiographical, polemical and perhaps even the aesthetic goals of their compilers in the second-fourth centuries AH.[24]

Now from time to time, if we are lucky, these compilations have *isnāds* (chains of transmitters) and if we are even luckier, many of those transmitters included in the *isnād* are scholars of Prophetic *ḥadīths*, which enables us to get more information about them from the Islamic biographical dictionaries of scholars. In this way we are then able to understand the point of view of the person transmitting the story, or at least the regional background of that person or story. Unfortunately this is not the case with all of our narratives on Mu'āwiya. In many cases we search to no avail, especially in the case of the Shi'ite transmitters. But this should not dishearten the researcher for we are at least able to understand the methodology of the compiler himself.

In our study we have used a number of different works, which we have divided into three categories, as follows:

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[22]For an excellent and very thorough look at modern scholars' approach to Islamic History, see Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, pp. 1-31.

[23]I use Donner's definition, which is: ". . . anything written down retrospectively or anything subjected to literary transmission, i.e. any written source other than a contemporary document." Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, p. 2 n. 1.

[24]Donner, *Narrative of Islamic Origins*, p. 125.

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1) The first category is that of "story-tellers," which is basically a book or narrator dealing with only one incident. This incident, also found in other larger histories, is given to us in the form of a story that has fact and the author's opinion so tightly woven together that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. The separation is done, as we will show, when we see that what is depicted as 'factual' is in fact opinion and changes from one author to the other. Our primary example will be Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, although one can add Abū Mikhnaf whom al-Ṭabarī relies upon almost exclusively for his narrative on the first civil war.[25]

2) Our second category is that of "the compilers," within which there are three sub-categories:

a) In the first sub-category, which we have termed "Khabar Compilers" are al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 A.H./923 C.E.), Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Jawzī and (only reluctantly) Ibn Kathīr, since they rely exclusively on the *khabar* to tell the story, with little or no narration from themselves, that is, they shape their account by processes of selection, arrangement, and omission.

b) The second sub-category, "The *Khabar* Editors," includes Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, Ibn Sa'd (d. 231 A.H./845 C.E.), al-Balādhurī, and al-Dhahabī. These also rely on the *khabar* format but they do some serious editing of the narratives.

c) The third sub-category, "Unique *Khabar*" includes Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (d. ca. 314 A.H./926 C.E.), and Ibn 'Asākir.[26] Their narratives are unique in that much of the stories about Mu'āwiya cannot be found elsewhere.

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[25]There even has been recently published a two volume book which has compiled all the narratives of Abū Mikhnaf found in al-Ṭabarī. See Kāmil Salmān al-Jabbūrī, *Nuṣūṣ min tārīkh abī Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Ghāmidī al-Azdī al-Kūfī al-mutawaffā 157 H.* (Beirut: Dār al-Rasūl al-Akram, 1999).

[26]Although it could be argued that Ibn 'Asākir is too late for him to have anything new, but the compilations of earlier historians, he in fact adds very unique versions that are not found elsewhere.

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3) Finally there is the third category, the "Historians," within which al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284 A.H./897 C.E.) and al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345 A.H./956 C.E.) fall. These two have written a history strictly from their point of view. We have separated them from our first category because theirs is a fuller history and not devoted to one event.

Let us now look at each of these categories in greater detail.

The Story Tellers

Naṣr b. Muzāḥim has an *isnād* before every narrative, which leads one to believe that his work should be under our compiler category. But upon reading *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* one finds that this is more than just a compilation of different stories on the battle of Ṣiffīn. First and foremost, it is a one sided affair, told exclusively from the viewpoint of the pro-'Alid camp. Second, it is more concerned with what 'Alī says and does than what the war was all about. It is in our view a salvation history, its purpose being to produce a record of the heroic efforts of 'Alī and his followers at the battle. It also shows how these efforts were thwarted by the trickery of the 'evil' Mu'āwiya and the Syrians. We cannot believe, as the editor of *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* tells us, that " the reader will find his book to be a reflection of an unbiased historian who does not allow his true feelings to show except in a few places from which he could not escape."[27] On the contrary, it seems he could not escape from these affinities throughout the book. It is clear that Naṣr b. Muzāḥim had a distinct bias. Wilferd Madelung relies on this narrative and that of Abū Mikhnaf almost exclusively in his book. Thus, it is not surprising that the picture of Mu'āwiya that Madelung has derived is that of a cowardly usurper, whose base needs help him attain the caliphate.[28] This is certainly a reflection

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[27]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1990), p. *wāw*.

[28]Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, especially pp. 194-238.

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of Madelung's unabashed acceptance of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim and other anti-Mu'āwiya narratives. A different perspective is found in our next category, that of the compilers.

The Compilers: The *Khabar*

The reason for the above name is the fact that the precedent maker of this group, al-Ṭabarī, states in his introduction to his history, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, how he has totally relied on transmitters for his history, and that in fact he has rarely used "rational arguments" in his writing of the history. He then adds:

> This book of mine may [be found to] contain some information, mentioned by us on the authority of certain men of the past, which the reader may disapprove of and the listener may find detestable, because he can find nothing sound and no real meaning in it. In such cases, he should know that it is not our fault that such information comes to him, but the fault of someone who transmitted it to us. We have merely reported it as it was reported to us.[29]

This is in fact what al-Ṭabarī does throughout his text. His opinion is seldom disclosed, and he does not even tell us which version, from the numerous ones he has for each story, is the most reliable in his view. This is in sharp contrast to his earlier work, the commentary on the Qur'ān. Tarif Khalidi tells us that this is only natural since, "Unlike the *Commentary*, where inference and deduction could be employed to wrest meaning out of a text whose ultimate clarity is, as it were, vouched for by the Almighty Himself, in the *History* Tabari is at the mercy of his transmitters."[30] We are also told by Joseph Roberts that such works as that of al-Ṭabarī "often contain multiple

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[29]Al-Ṭabarī. *The History of Al-Ṭabarī Volume One: General Introduction and from the Creation to the Flood*, trans. Franz Rosenthal (Albany: State University of New York, 1989), pp. 170-171.

[30]Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 76.

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and sometimes conflicting versions of events and almost never an overt indication from the author as to how the different versions should be weighed or understood."[31] In this way, as Donner states, many scholars, Western and Muslim, considered al-Ṭabarī's history to have all views being represented equally because of the many divergent versions he has of the same story.[32] On this latter point, as our dissertation will prove, al-Ṭabarī is far from representing all views. As to our inability to try and deduce what his opinions may be, we are not without recourse to finding what they are, especially when it comes to our subject. There are a number of clues that can be utilized by looking at the methodologies of both al-Ṭabarī and our next two historians in this category, Ibn al-Athir and Ibn al-Jawzī.

One such important factor is the transmitters that al-Ṭabarī relies on for his history. Al-Ṭabarī uses Iraqi transmitters for our subject, Mu'āwiya, even though the Syrian transmitters were probably better informed about him. That in itself should give us at least some indication of his point of view. In our analysis we will show that al-Ṭabarī had recourse to Syrian transmitters but chose not to use them. We are also able to ascertain al-Ṭabarī's point of view by looking at Ibn al-Jawzī's and Ibn al-Athīr's texts which are for the most part carbon copies of al-Ṭabarī. But unlike al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn al-Athīr chose only one version of a story found in al-Ṭabarī for their respective histories. This version, in its treatment of Mu'āwiya, is by far the most negative of the versions found in al-Ṭabarī's text. We believe that both Ibn al-Jawzī's and Ibn al-Athīr's choice was what they felt was al-Ṭabarī's goal. In other words, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn al-Athīr chose the version of the story which they felt al-Ṭabarī was trying to emphasize more than the others. Our fourth and last historian in this category

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[31]Joseph Bradin Roberts, *Early Islamic Historiography: Ideology and Methodology* (Unpublished Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1986), p. 2.

[32]Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, p. 128.

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should be known by the epitaph mistakenly given to al-Ṭabarī, "the 'imam' of *Hadith* historiography."[33] We are of course talking about Ibn Kathīr. We were reluctant to place Ibn Kathīr in this category because he does not simply allow his transmitters to tell the story. He comments on the veracity of the transmitters to his story, as any good *ḥadīth* scholar must. He will also, if the story is rather negative towards Mu'āwiya, try to find others that show the opposite. Yet he still cannot be added to our next sub-category because he does not, like those listed below, edit his work. He has for the most part the same stories found in al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr with little or no editing but with commentary, for the reasons discussed above.

The Compilers: The *Khabar* editors

In this category we have placed most of our other sources. Here, all our authors also have *isnād*s before every story. Their sources are very different from those of the above authors and they have a tendency to omit large chunks of the historical narrative on Mu'āwiya that one finds elsewhere. This last reason in particular is why we have created this sub-category for them. Ibn Sa'd, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, al-Balādhurī, and al-Dhahabī are notorious for their incomplete narratives. We suspect that the reason, as we will show, is that they did not like a particular part of the story and thus removed it from their narrative. These authors, in particular al-Balādhurī and al-Dhahabī, will comment on the veracity of a narrative without any hesitation. Ibn Sa'd and Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ do so by removing the text which they find objectionable, which we will make our reader aware of, and thus in this way comment passively. Ibn A'tham and Ibn 'Asākir, whom we will look at next, are both masters of the passive commentary.

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[33] Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, p. 73.

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The Compilers: The unique *Khabar*

Ibn A'tham and Ibn 'Asākir represent for our purposes the most unique compilations on Mu'āwiya. They always have one or two stories that are not found in the other narratives. It is in this way, we believe and we will show, that they make their passive commentary. By placing these "time-bombs" in the middle of their narrative our authors are calling the reader's attention to these particular versions. These versions, in the case of our subject, are quite contradictory to the overall narrative within the histories of the above two authors and to all the other histories mentioned above and below. We believe and will show that it is in this way that both Ibn A'tham and Ibn 'Asākir give us their true opinion on the subject on which they are writing. On the other hand, our next two authors do not hesitate in making their opinion known, as their whole histories are exactly that, their own view of what occurred.

The Historians

Both al-Ya'qūbī and al-Mas'ūdī bear a strong resemblance to Naṣr b. Muzāḥim's story telling category, yet since theirs is a world history we could not put them in the same category. Al-Ya'qūbī tells us that even though he is using a number of transmitters he has, for the purpose of making the book shorter, removed much of the poetry and shortened the *akhbār*.[34] This is in fact what we find in al-Ya'qūbī on our subject. Al-Ya'qūbī, as well as our second author al-Mas'ūdī, have a tendency to mold the narrative to satisfy their points of view. We will show that both authors have a tendency to 'creatively' produce their own versions in order to make logical sense with the type of image they are trying to convey of Mu'āwiya. This is much more apparent in al-Mas'ūdī than al-Ya'qūbī. The former views all the events that lead to the rule of

[34] Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb, *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm (Najaf: al-Maktaba al-Ḥaydariyya, 1964), vol. 2, p. 3.

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Mu'āwiya as the result of the ignorance of the *'amma* (public) and their blind obedience to Mu'āwiya.[35] He states that "amongst the manners of the public is to appoint a non-leader to leadership, to esteem the one without esteem and they talk about knowledge without knowledge."[36] Al-Mas'ūdī thus, wants us to view the life of Mu'āwiya in particular and Umayyad history in general as the triumph of 'ignorance' over 'knowledge.'

It will be noticed that we have not spoken about each author's religio-political proclivity, whether he was pro-'Alid, pro-Umayyad, or neither. We have remained silent on that issue since this would entail a much larger undertaking.[37] Suffice it to say that there is constant evidence to show that those who are stylized as Shi'ite sometimes carry very pro-Mu'āwiya narratives, a case in point being Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī. The opposite is also true of Ibn Sa'd and al-Ṭabarī who are both supposedly staunchly Sunnī but have some very pro-'Alid narratives. This is not to say that there are no authors who are not in one camp over the other. Certainly there is no doubt that Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, al-Ya'qūbī and al-Mas'ūdī all have anti-Umayyad, more specifically anti-Mu'āwiya, views. Still, since we have categorized all three in the story/history category we are able to understand that what we are reading is their take on the historical narrative. On the other hand, the rest of our historians have the words and narrations of other transmitters that in fact do color and change the historical narrative on Mu'āwiya--so much so that we find side by side two versions of the same story, one depicting Mu'āwiya as a heartless despot and the other showing him as a

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[35] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 3, pp. 42-44.

[36] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 44.

[37] Both Petersen and Madelung have in fact categorized our sources in such a manner. Yet one only needs to look at a common source, like al-Balādhurī, and see that each scholar finds him on the opposite side of the track, in order to understand how precarious an undertaking that would be. See Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya in early Arabic Tradition*, pp. 139-148; Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, pp. 374-378.

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compassionate shaykh. This is, in fact, what we will try to explain in the following pages: the contradictory depictions of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān in the early Islamic sources.

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CHAPTER 2

PRE-CIVIL WAR MU'ĀWIYA: THE INCIDENTAL, THE BRAVE, THE ARTICULATE

This chapter will look at the depictions of Mu'āwiya before the first civil war.[1] The three incidents that we are going to discuss in this chapter take place at various stages of Mu'āwiya's life. The first is an extremely early story that will be used to illustrate a 'neutral' depiction of Mu'āwiya in the *sīra*. The next is an example of Mu'āwiya's bravery and strategic shrewdness. And the third is an example of Mu'āwiya's dealings with the opposition to 'Uthmān at its earliest stages. An important point that should be made is that modern historians hardly mention the incidents that we will discuss. The reason, as was mentioned before, is that Mu'āwiya is always seen in the context of his struggle with 'Alī, even by modern scholars. Thus there is little or no discussion of modern scholars' views of many of the stories analyzed in this chapter.

Each of the stories we have chosen to discuss below has its equivalent in the third chapter, civil war Mu'āwiya. The first story, an incidental mentioning of Mu'āwiya with no negative or positive overtones, contrasts to another incidental in the

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[1]We will not examine the anecdotes that are found in *aḥādīth* and *ṭabaqāt* books where Mu'āwiya is mentioned either in a negative or positive light by the Prophet. These, we believe, are polemics. It is enough to say that one can find as many positive sayings about Mu'āwiya as there are negative ones. Al-Balādhurī has a number of them. There, they follow three themes: The first has the Prophet who is sitting among some of the companions tell them, that the next person who will come upon them will go to hell/heaven. The second consists of the Prophet's saying that if you see Mu'āwiya on my pulpit, kill him. The third consists of the Prophet praising or cursing Mu'āwiya and praying that he might go to heaven or hell, as the case might be. In al-Balādhurī's text there are six positive and seven negative statements. Of the positive all but one is of the third kind, the sixth is of the first. The negatives have two of the first, three of the second, and two of the third type of *ḥadīth*. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. 4, pp. 126-130.

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third chapter. The brave and strategic Mu'āwiya that we have chosen for our next story in this chapter simply does not exist during or after the civil war. As for our third story, it emphasizes the words and arguments Mu'āwiya chooses in his discussion with some of the disgruntled men of the opposition to 'Uthmān's policies. The particular incident we chose shows Mu'āwiya's heavy reliance on Qur'ānic themes for his discussion. By choosing the following three stories we will be able to show that the struggle with 'Alī for the caliphate permanently colored the historical narrative about Mu'āwiya. Mu'āwiya as a character outside the 'prism' of the civil war is unable to exist, except in the few examples that we are about to look at below.

The 'Neutral' Depiction

The first story we have chosen will illustrate the 'neutral,' incidental depiction. What is meant here by incidental is that, as far as the story is concerned, Mu'āwiya's presence or absence has no impact on the story whatsoever. In this first story it will be surmised that Mu'āwiya's name is only present as a result of the sources the historian is using, and is not a purposeful insertion or deletion by the historian.

This first example, a 'neutral' one, depicts the execution of Khubayb b. 'Adī in Mecca, and can be found in five historical sources: The *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq, the *Maghāzī* of al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*, al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*, and the *Tārīkh* of Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ.[2] In al-Ṭabarī, the Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ and the Ibn Sa'd versions Mu'āwiya

[2]This story, because of its legal implications on what a Muslim prisoner of war should and should not do, can also be found in the *aḥādīth* collections of al-Bukhārī and Abū Dawūd. In both collections the story is similar to that of al-Ṭabarī's second version from Abū Kurayb. Both versions exclude Mu'āwiya's recollection. See: Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-'Aynī, *'Umdat al-qārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: Muḥammad Amīn Damaj, 1970), vol. 13-14, pp. 289-294; Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaqq al-'Aẓīm Ābādī, *'Awn al-ma'būd: sharḥ sunan Abī Dāwūd* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998), vol. 4, pp. 230-231.

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is not mentioned. By determining the reason, or reasons, for the omission we will be able to understand why he is mentioned in the other sources. The story is the earliest (3 A.H.)[3] mention of Mu'āwiya.

Khubayb b. 'Adī was sent by the Prophet with five other Muslims with members of 'Aḍal and al-Qāra to teach them about Islam. The Muslims were betrayed, and all but two, namely Khubayb and one Zayd b. al-Dathinna b. Mu'āwiya were killed. These two were sold to members of the Quraysh, whose relatives were killed by Muslims, and executed. It is in the depiction of Khubayb's execution that we are interested. The story will also be important for other reasons in the fourth chapter. When Khubayb was about to be executed, he cursed his executioners and all onlookers, saying that all should be killed one by one. Among the cursed were Mu'āwiya and his father Abū Sufyān. Abū Sufyān, fearing that Khubayb's curse should fall upon his son, threw him to the ground.[4] In the *sīra* the story is narrated from 'Āṣim b. Qatāda,[5] while in the *Maghāzī*[6] it is from Abū Hurayra,[7] one of the

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[3]Al-Ṭabarī is the only source that has the incident take place in the year 4 A.H. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhim (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1960-1970), vol. 2, pp. 538-542 [1432/1-1438/1]. M. J. de Goje (ed.), *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1879-1901). We shall include the references to the page numbers of the European edition, which are on the margins of the Cairo edition, throughout our work.

[4]It is interesting to note that the above action shows that it was believed that a curse is a moving object, that literally will go from the person who is cursing's mouth and fall on the person or persons being cursed.

[5]His full name is 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda b. al-Nu'mān b. Zayd b. 'Āmir b. Sawād b. Ka'b (d. between 119-129 A.H.) Ibn Isḥāq is reputed to have transmitted from him and he is reputed to have knowledge of *Sīra* and *al-Maghāzī* stories. He was told to teach these stories to people at the Damascus mosque by 'Umar II (reg. 99-101/717-720), al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut: Mu'assassat al-Risāla, 1980-1992), vol. 13, pp. 528-531 [no. 3020] (henceforth: al-Mizzī).

[6]Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 358-359.

[7]He died during the caliphate of Mu'āwiya in 59 A.H. The sources stylize him as an 'Uthmānī (one of the supporters of the third Caliph 'Uthmān) and by implication a supporter of the Umayyads.

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most prolific transmitters of *ḥadīth*. We chose the *sīra* version simply for convenience as the difference between the two versions in our opinion is negligible:[8] "Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān used to say: I was present that day among those who were with Abū Sufyān, when he (Abū Sufyān) threw me to the ground out of fear of Khubayb's curse."[9] It is interesting that, although Abū Sufyān felt that the curse could affect his son, he did not worry about himself.

Although it is not surprising that a son (Mu'āwiya) would be at the execution with his father (Abū Sufyān), at first glance it is not very clear why two of the historians chose to include Mu'āwiya's personal recollection of the incident, while three others did not. One possible answer is that the first two historians' motives in including the story differed from those of the others. Yet it is very clear that all five historians are focused on the same thing -- the precedent set by Khubayb in praying two *rak'as* before being executed.[10] Another possible answer is that the three historians did not include an account of the curse, so there was no need for Mu'āwiya's recollection of its avoidance. This, in fact, explains the omission of Mu'āwiya's personal recollection in both Khalīfa and Ibn Sa'd but it does not explain the omission

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He certainly was not liked by 'Alī's supporters and thus was actively pursued by one of 'Alī's generals, Jāriya b. Qudāma al-Sa'dī (of the Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm) during the latter's campaign in the Ḥijāz. See: Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 5, pp. 140-141 [3452/1-3454/1].

[8]I am referring only to Mu'āwiya's recollection and not the whole incident of Khubayb's execution.

[9]Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya li-ibn Hishām*, eds. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, and 'Abd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī, 2nd ed (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlāduh, 1955), vol. 2, p. 173. The exact wording is: *"fa-kāna mu'āwiya ibn abi sufyān yaqūl: ḥaḍartuhu yawma'idhin fī-man ḥaḍarahu ma'a abi sufyān, fa-laqad ra'aytuhu yulqīnī ilā al-arḍ faraqan min da'wat khubayb."*

[10]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 541 [1436/1] *"fa-jarat sunnatan li-man qutila ṣabran an yuṣalliya rak'atayn"*; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārikh Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ*, eds. Muṣṭafā Najīb Fawwāz and Ḥikmat Kathlī Fawwāz (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1995), p. 32: *"wa-kāna khubayb awwal man istanna al-rak'atayn 'inda al-qatl"*; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāṭ al-kubrā* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1957), vol. 2, p. 56, *"fa-khubayb awwal man sanna rak'atayn 'inda al-qatl"*; al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 1, p. 358, *"awwal man sanna al-rak'atayn 'inda al-qatl khubayb"*; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, vol. 2, p. 173,*"fa-kāna khubayb ibn 'adī awal man sanna hātayn al-rak'atayn 'inda al-qatl lil-muslimīn."*

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in al-Ṭabarī who includes the account of the curse. Al-Ṭabarī omits another important detail from the story: that the men of the Quraysh made children participate in the killing of Khubayb by giving them lances to stab him. The story in the *sīra* deals with one particular person who had a 'hand' in killing Khubayb. One of these children, by the name of 'Uqba b. al-Ḥārith had a lance placed in his hand and was forced to stab Khubayb by an adult, who manipulated the hands of 'Uqba.[11] This in fact makes the recollection of Mu'āwiya more than a simple addition to enhance or bring another angle to the story, but rather as a rebuttal to all those who may have placed Mu'āwiya among the children who executed Khubayb. But this theory is quickly debunked when one reads in the *Maghāzī* not only the names of the children who were given lances to kill Khubayb but also the reason for this action by the adults. These children had lost a father at the battle of Badr.[12] Not only that, but in al-Ṭabarī's version Khubayb was beheaded.[13] The answer then must lie elsewhere. Closer examination reveals that rather than being in the *matn*, our answer is in the *isnād*.

It first should be noted that although al-Ṭabarī knew of Ibn Isḥāq's account and in fact used the same *isnād* for the first part of the story, when it came to the episode of Khubayb's execution he chose to rely on a different source, Abū Kurayb.[14] Although this version's *isnād* differs completely from that of Ibn Isḥāq it is very similar to that of al-Wāqidī, but only for the first three names. In al-Ṭabarī the *isnād* is as follows: Ṭ.----

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[11]Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, vol. 2, p. 173.

[12]Al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, vol. 1, p. 361.

[13]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 541 [1436/1].

[14]Al-Ṭabarī's exact words are: *"qāla abū ja'far: wa-ammā ghayru ibn isḥāq, fa-innahu qaṣṣa min khabar hādhihī al-sariyya ghayra al-ladhī qaṣṣahu, wa al-ladhī qaṣṣahu ghayruhu min dhālik mā haddthanā abū kurayb.* Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p.540 [1434/1].

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Abū Kurayb[15] ----Ja'far b.'Awn al-'Amrī[16] ----Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl[17]----'Amr (sometimes it is written as 'Umar) b. Usayd[18] ----Abū Hurayra. In al-Wāqidī on the other hand, it is: W.----Ma'mar[19]----al-Zuhrī[20] ----'Amr b. Abī Sufyān b. Usayd b. al-'Alā'----Abū Hurayra. Both *isnāds* go back to Abū Hurayra and 'Amr b. Abī Sufyān; so do the ones in Bukhārī and Abū Dāwūd. We suspect that the reason why Mu'āwiya is not mentioned by al-Ṭabarī is that al-Ṭabarī used no Syrian sources, while both al-Wāqidī and Ibn Isḥāq relied upon two prominent Syrian authorities: al-Zuhrī and 'Āṣim b. 'Amr b. Qatāda.[21] Al-Ṭabarī's reliance on a different version removed Mu'āwiya from the picture. Was this deliberate? It is impossible to know. But certainly the

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[15]His full name is Muḥammad b. al-'Alā' b. Kurayb al-Hamdānī (b. ca. 160-161/d. ca. 247-248); he was a well-known *muḥaddith* in Kūfa. Al-Mizzī, vol. 26, pp. 243-248 [no. 5529].

[16]His full name was Ja'far b. 'Awn b. Ja'far b. 'Amr b. Ḥurayth al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī. He resided in Kūfa and died in 206 or 207 A.H. Although al-Mizzī does not mention his teacher, Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl, he notes that one of this students was Abū Kurayb. Al-Mizzī, vol. 5, pp. 70-73 [no. 948].

[17]This might be Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Abī Ḥabība al-Ashhalī (d. 165 A.H.). But more than likely he is an unknown. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (Cairo: Dār Iḥiyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1963), vol. 1, pp. 19-20. [no. 36].

[18]His full name was 'Amr b. Abī Sufyān b. Usayd b. Jāriya al-Thaqafī al-Madanī from the confederates of Banū Zuhra; his death date is unknown. Al-Mizzī, vol. 22, pp. 44-47 [no. 4374]. It is interesting that one of the two *ḥadiths* that he is famous for transmitting from Abū Hurayra, according to al-Mizzī, is the one concerning Khubayb b. 'Adī. Same reference p. 46.

[19]He is Ma'mar b. Rāshid al-Azdī (d. 150,152,153, or 154 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 28, pp. 303-312 [no. 6104].

[20]This is the very famous *ḥadīth* scholar Muḥammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Shihāb b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith al- Zuhrī (b. 50, 51, 56, or 58/ d. 123 or 124 A.H.) Muḥammad b. Sa'd puts him in the fourth *ṭabaqa* of Medina. Al-Mizzī, vol. 26, pp. 419-443 [no. 5606].

[21]It is true that both al-Bukhārī and Abū Dāwūd do not mention Mu'āwiya but do use al-Zuhrī. This is so, we believe because both are interested in the legal precedent set by Khubayb and not in the historic incident. It is possible, as many scholars have maintained, that al-Ṭabarī was of the same inclination. But the question as to why he used a different *isnād* from those of the above *ḥadīth* scholars remains unanswered. Donner notes that al-Ṭabarī had access to Syrian sources but chose not to utilize them. See his, "The Problem of Early Arabic Historiography in Syria." *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām During the Early Islamic Period Up to 40 A.H./640 A.D. The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām*. ed. Muḥammad Adnan Bakhīt (Amman: University of Jordan, 1987), pp. 1-27, esp. pp. 22-24.

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neutral nature of this story indicates that its inclusion or absence within a particular text only reflects the choice in narrators rather than a purposeful critical move by the historian in question. On the other hand in our next story, the conquest of Cyprus, Mu'āwiya supposedly plays the leading role.

The Brave-Commander Depiction

It is peculiar that the story on the role of Mu'āwiya in the conquest of Cyprus is completely glossed over in some sources.[22] The reasons for this will be shown below. One of the main reasons for selecting this episode is that it is mentioned in the non-Islamic sources. We will only use these sources as a confirmation[23] that Mu'āwiya was the leader of the expedition and that it took place in the year 649 C.E.[24] Our

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[22]See al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, pp. 152-159. Here al-Ya'qūbī mentions a number of conquests that took place during the 'days' of 'Uthmān. As for the conquest of Cyprus, al-Ya'qūbī inserts a sentence at the end of a narrative on the peace treaty with the Nubians. He simply states, "And Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān conquered Cyprus." Same reference, p. 156.

[23]On the argument that non-Islamic sources utilize Islamic sources simply for information on the early period, see: Lawrence I. Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition: Some Indications of Intercultural Transmission," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990), pp. 1-44, where Conrad argues " that historiographical consideration of the *Chronographia* of Theophanes must be revised to take into account the presence in the text of materials that ultimately come from the Arabic tradition of Islam." p. 43; and Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 142-145. Donner argues that most if not all of the non-Muslim sources on the conquest of Syria are taken from Muslim sources. He concludes by stating: "It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the Islamic writers were in fact the first to try to assemble a coherent picture of the conquest, and that it was from the attempted reconstruction by Islamic scholars writing in Arabic that the Christian writers in part drew their material." p. 145.

[24]Thomson and Howard-Johnston, *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos*, pp. 110-112; 259-262; although here the naval campaign was against Constantinople. It was Mu'āwiya who conducted it in 643 or 649, depending on whether you accept Thomson's translation on p. 111 n. 682 or Howard-Johnston's interpretation on pp. 259-260. Howard-Johnston then uses a different source, that of Dionysius, to add the Cyprus campaign; p. 260. A big problem with accepting Howard-Johnston's interpretation and Sebeos' chronology as the 'historical truth,' which Howard-Johnston readily does in all aspects of the book, lies in the fact that according to Sebeos Mu'āwiya's fleet was soundly defeated and his ships destroyed and yet the Byzantines begin to pay tribute after defeating the Muslims! Howard-Johnston writes: "Although Muawiya suffered heavy losses and was clearly forced to halt his advance, his display of naval might shocked the Romans and led them to negotiate a cease fire." p. 259. See also Hoyland, *Seeing Islam As Others Saw it*, pp. 641-642; Lawrence I. Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwād: A Source-Critical Study in the Historiography of the Early Medieval Near

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interest in this story still remains the depiction of Mu'āwiya in the early Islamic sources. Another reason for choosing this story is that it illustrates an aspect of Mu'āwiya that many of the early sources seem to completely forget when they talk about him in his war with 'Alī: his experience as a brave and strategically competent general.[25] This story differs from the above story in that we are certain, by the testimony of non-Islamic sources, that it was Mu'āwiya who raided Cyprus. Because of that we believe that the Muslim historians for whom Mu'āwiya was not a laudable figure had a problem. Their problem was how to remove some of the luster from Mu'āwiya's naval expedition, and cause the story to take on a negative meaning rather than a positive one.[26] This problem, we believe, was solved in three ways: The first was to replace Mu'āwiya with another person who was the first to "ride the sea." The second, and the solution most widely used, was to show that not only did 'Umar forbid Mu'āwiya from undertaking the expedition, but it was 'Uthmān (who is seen by these very same sources as making numerous 'unlawful' decisions) who gave Mu'āwiya permission to go to sea.[27] The third, was to omit this episode entirely, which in fact what al-Mas'ūdī does.

East," *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I: Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1992), pp. 317-401.

[25]Mu'āwiya's bravery and strategic foresight is not lost on all modern Arab historians, see: 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafājī and 'Abd al-'Azīz Sharaf, *Ma'ārik fāṣila fī tārīkh al-islām* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1989), especially pp. 53-62. The authors believe that Mu'āwiya's naval policies were the logical extension of his campaigns against Constantinople.

[26]The one thing that the early Muslim historians who were apt to be anti-Umayyad could not do is deny that it was Mu'āwiya who was one of the first generals to see the importance of a Muslim navy.

[27]Some modern Arab scholars accept the permission story, such as Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Wakīl, *al-Umawiyūn bayn al-sharq wa-al-gharb: dirāsa waṣfiyya wa-taḥlīliyya lil-dawla al-Umawiyya* (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1995), vol. 1, p. 145. Others tend to skip that part; see: Muḥammad Suhayl Ṭaqqūsh, *Tārīkh al-dawla al-Umawiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1996), p. 28, 32; Khafājī and Sharaf, *Ma'ārik fāṣila*, pp. 41-42. They believe that all of Mu'āwiya's naval campaigns were a natural outgrowth of the war with the Byzantines. The most innovative explanation of the Cyprus and other naval campaigns can be found in Mahmood Ibrahim, *The Social and Economic Background of the Umayyad Caliphate: The Role of Mu'āwiya ibn Abi Sufyan* (Ph.D. diss.,

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The story of the naval campaign against Cyprus is made up of four elements: 1) The permission to go to sea; 2) The naval campaign; 3) The collecting of the booty/tribute 4) The crying of Abū al-Dardā'.[28] Most of the sources, which mention this story, have at least three of the above elements. Our discussion will first address the least complicated renditions of the story, which are found in Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāṭ, al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Jawzi and Ibn Kathīr.

Before we do that we must remark on the rendition of the story in the only so-called 'Shī'ī' source that we have, that of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī. It is in this source that we find the most positive rendition of Mu'āwiya's role in the naval campaign against Cyprus. This evidence is in keeping with the assessment that this source, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, is the touchstone of all compilations. This story also provides more proof that we should not dismiss the pro-'Alid tendencies of al-Ṭabarī. Al-Balādhurī's information is more concerned with whether Cyprus was conquered by force or through negotiations, which is in keeping with the main theme of the book (Conquests), and thus we will not be utilizing the better part of his rendition of the incident. All of the sources we shall consult have the same sequence of events on the conquest of Cyprus: Mu'āwiya first asks 'Umar's permission to take to the sea.[29] He is denied permission, ironically, after 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ gives 'Umar his assessment of

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UCLA, 1981), pp. 187-188; 214; 228-229. The author sees Mu'āwiya's naval expeditions as the natural outcome of his goal, as a representative of the Meccan merchant class, to expand the territory of trade for this class.

[28]We shall not discuss this last element.

[29]We are not certain of the exact date of this question. However one can be wary of the story since, as will be more apparent below, it does not make sense for 'Umar to seek the opinion of a subordinate, namely 'Amr, after he had already made his opinion known about the case of al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī in the year 17 A.H. For more on al-'Alā' see below. Conrad believes that this part of the story, 'Mu'āwiya asking 'Umar to give him permission to go to sea since the dogs and the roosters of the Greeks could be heard in the *jund* of Ḥimṣ,' refers to Arwād and not to Cyprus. See Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwād," p. 382. It can be argued that this might just mean that Mu'āwiya was asking permission to go to sea and using Arwād as an excuse. His aim could have been both Arwād and Cyprus.

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the dangers of the sea.[30] The irony here lies in the fact that not only does 'Umar take advice from 'Amr, who is not known for his 'piety,' but it is counsel that stifles Mu'āwiya. When 'Uthmān is elected caliph, Mu'āwiya again seeks permission to go to sea, which he is given on certain conditions. Mu'āwiya either sets off himself or orders someone else, in the year 28 A.H., to attack Cyprus.[31]

Both Ibn al-Jawzī's and Ibn Kathīr's stories are similar to each other. They combine elements number 1, 2, and 4 with more emphasis on number 4 than any other element. They also use al-Wāqidī as their main source for the raid on Cyprus.[32] Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāṭ is the only source considered here that does not have elements Nos. 1, 3, and 4. In his version, which he ascribes to Ibn al-Kalbī, Khalīfa simply mentions that in the year 28 A.H. 'Mu'āwiya set out on a naval campaign. He took with him his wife Fākhita b. Qurẓa and 'Ubāda b. al- Ṣāmit, who also brought his wife Umm Ḥarām bint Mulḥān al-Anṣāriyya. The latter's wife died and was buried in Cyprus.'[33] The fact that Khalīfa omits the entire 'permission' element has nothing to do with how he felt about Mu'āwiya, but rather implies that he liked 'Uthmān. As we

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[30]This part of the story is extremely puzzling. 'Amr is supposed to have warned 'Umar of seafaring by likening men on boats to worms on a stick: any sudden movement causes them to drown. The reason the story is puzzling is that the words are coming from the person who supposedly went to Abyssinia several times, by sea, as a merchant! See Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, vol. 1, pp. 333-339.

[31]Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 92; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ* (Ḥaydarābād: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmaniyya, 1968-1975), vol. 2, pp. 117-127; al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1956-57), vol. 1, pp. 181-188; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, pp. 258-263 [2820/1-2828/1]; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 468-471; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-mulūk wa al-umam*, eds. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā and Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992), vol. 4, pp. 364-367; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, ed. 'Alī 'Abd al-Sātir (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, 1985), vol. 7, pp. 158-159; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-al-a'lām*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, 1989-2000), vol. 3, p. 317, 323-324.

[32]Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 4, pp. 364-367; Ibn Kāthīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, vol. 7, pp. 158-159.

[33]Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 92.

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have said above, the use of the 'permission' element not only reflects badly on Mu'āwiya, but also adds to the long list of *bida'* (unlawful precedents) of 'Uthmān. As for the other elements, Khalīfa might as usual have left them out since they did not have such an important impact on the main point of the entry on the year 28 and that it was during that year that Mu'āwiya invaded Cyprus. Yet, by telling us that it was Mu'āwiya, 'Ubada and both their wives who went to Cyprus, Khalīfa is lending credence to the characterization of Mu'āwiya as brave and obedient to his caliph. But this fact can only be arrived at by reading other versions of the story in other sources, which we will look at presently.

In al-Balādhurī's version we are given a synopsis of Mu'āwiya's naval campaign at the beginning of the chapter on Cyprus. Al-Balādhurī states that "Mu'āwiya was the first Muslim to set out on a naval campaign. He first asked 'Umar but was not given permission, then he asked 'Uthmān, immediately after the latter's election as caliph, but was turned down in keeping with 'Umar's decision. 'Uthmān reminded him: "You have witnessed the reply 'Umar, may God have mercy on his soul, gave you when you asked him about invading by sea" (*an qad shahidta mā radda 'alayka 'umar raḥimahu allāh ḥīna ista'martahu fī ghazw al-baḥr*).[34] During the year 27 A.H., Mu'āwiya wrote once more to 'Uthmān for permission to conduct his naval campaign, emphasizing the ease of seafaring. This time 'Uthmān replied giving him permission on the condition that Mu'āwiya go himself and take his wife with him; otherwise, he was forbidden to go. Mu'āwiya invaded Cyprus and forced the ruler of the island to pay the Muslims a tribute of 7,200 dinars a year.'[35] Al-Balādhurī is the only author who puts the Cyprus campaign in this early; all others

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[34]Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 181.

[35]Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 181.

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place it in the year 28 A.H.[36] The *isnād* for the above is simply: al-Wāqidī and others. Here al-Balādhurī, unlike Khalīfa, is accepting the 'permission' element and including it in his version. Yet unlike al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, he does not attach blame to 'Uthmān. By identifying Mu'āwiya as the person who insists on the naval campaign, he exonerates 'Uthmān of any blame for opposing 'Umar's orders. By having 'Uthmān add the stipulation that Mu'āwiya go himself and take his wife with him, al-Balādhurī is actually showing 'Uthmān's care for his people: this puts the generals in the face of danger before the soldiers. Al-Balādhurī also shows Mu'āwiya's bravery, by putting him and his wife at the head of the expedition. This is even more apparent when one looks at the story as it is rendered by Ibn al-Athīr and al-Ṭabarī.

Ibn al-Athīr combines all of the different negative stories of al-Ṭabarī into one story.[37] Before looking at Ibn al-Athīr we shall look at all the different versions of the story in al-Ṭabarī and each negative element that Ibn al-Athīr has taken will be indicated. Al-Ṭabarī, as an exegete, *mufassir*, presents four versions of the 'permission' story. All but the most and least negative ones show the same sequence of events: Mu'āwiya tells 'Umar that the Byzantines are extremely close to the Syrian coast (specifically to the port of 'Akkā) and requests permission to invade them by sea. 'Umar asks 'Amr about the sea, and he is given a very foreboding description of seafaring. 'Umar forbids Mu'āwiya to go for the sake of the safety of the Muslims. When 'Uthmān becomes caliph, Mu'āwiya obtains permission from him to go to sea.

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[36]In al-Dhahabī's version, the raid on Cyprus takes place in both the years 27 and 28 A.H. The brief entry under 27 A.H. is identical to the one found in Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāṭ. The entry under the year 28 A.H., al-Dhahabī takes the story from Sayf ibn 'Umar--which is essentially a synopsis of al-Ṭabarī's many versions from the same source. The only difference is that al-Dhahabī has 'Umar almost being convinced of Mu'āwiya's arguments. 'Umar is about to give in to him when he asks 'Amr who convinces him of the danger of the sea. Another difference is that there is no mention of al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥadramī. See al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, vol. 3, p. 317 (for the year 27 A.H.), pp. 323-324 (for the year 28 A.H.).

[37]If we were certain that the main source of Ibn al-Athīr was just al-Ṭabarī, we could make the argument that for Ibn al-Athīr al-Ṭabarī's slant on the subject is a negative one.

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Al-Ṭabarī also provides four other versions of the conquest. In three of the versions it is Mu'āwiya himself who leads the naval campaign, and in the fourth one Mu'āwiya appoints 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Jāsī to lead the naval campaign.[38] All the *isnāds* used by al-Ṭabarī concerning this story are very similar, with nine names that recur in almost every version. That is, all the *isnāds* have at least the following: Al-Sarī,[39] Shu'ayb,[40] Sayf b. 'Umar,[41] Abū 'Uthmān, Abū Ḥāritha,[42] al-Rabī',[43] Abū al-Mujālid,[44]

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[38]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 4, pp. 258-263 [2820/1-2828/1].

[39]He is al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā b. Iyās b. Ḥarmala b. Iyās al-Shaybānī al-Muḥallamī. Al-Mizzī, vol. 10, pp. 232-235 [no. 2195].

[40]Like most of Sayf's associates, be they his students or teachers, little is known about Shu'ayb b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī; he is not liked for his falsehoods in both his historical and *ḥadīth* transmission. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr lil-Ṭibā'a wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', 1987), vol. 3, p. 176 [no. 4100/46]; henceforth T.T.; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 2, p. 275 [no. 3704]; Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, *al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā' al-rijāl lī-Abī Aḥmad 'Abdallāh al-Jurjānī*, 2nd ed (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1985), vol. 4, p. 1319. For more on al-Ṭabarī's sources, see Jawād 'Alī, "Mawārid tā'rikh al-Ṭabarī," *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī* 8 (1961), pp. 425-436, esp. pp. 428-429.

[41]He is Sayf b. 'Umar al-Tamīmī (their is no agreement as to whether he was al-Burjumī or al-Sa'dī or al-Ḍabbī or al-Asīdī), al-Mizzī, vol. 12, pp. 324-327 [no. 2676]; For more on Sayf see Fred Donner, "Sayf b.'Umar," *E.I.*^{2} vol. 9, pp. 102-103. Sayf has been criticized as a liar not only by Muslim *ḥadīth* scholars but also by modern orientalists such as Wellhausen; see his *Prolegomena zur altesten Geschichte des Islams* (Berlin, 1899). However, recent scholarship has redeemed his work; see Martin Hinds, "Sayf b. 'Umar's Sources on Arabia," in *Studies in the History of Arabia I. Sources for the History of Arabia* (Riyadh: 1979), part 2, pp. 3-16; Ella Landau-Tasseron, "Sayf ibn 'Umar in Medieval and Modern Scholarship," *Der Islam* 67 (1990), pp. 1-27.

[42]Both are as obscure as Shu'ayb. Abū 'Uthmān's name is Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī and Abū Ḥāritha is Muḥriz b. Jāriya. The latter, according to al-Dhahabī, is known as 'Ibn' rather than 'Abū' Ḥāritha. For him, see al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 3, p. 443 [no. 7089]. For both see, Jawād 'Alī, "Mawārid tā'rikh al-Ṭabarī," *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī* 3 (1954), pp. 17-56.

[43]He is al-Rabī' b. al-Nu'mān al-Naṣrī. There are two possibilities as to who he could be. The first is Rabī' b. al-Nu'mān Abū Sawda al-Ghanawī (death date unknown), and the second is al-Rabī' Abū Sa'īd al-Naṣrī (death date unknown). See Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* (India: Ḥaidarābād, 1952), vol. 1, part 2, p. 470 [no. 2104], for the first name, p. 471 [no. 2110], for the second name.

[44]He is Abū al-Mujālid Jarād b. 'Amr. It is possible that he is Jarād b. Mujālid al-Ḍabbī (death date unknown) since he is the only Jarād we could find that did transmit from Rajā' b. Ḥaywa. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 538 [no. 2236].

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Junāda b. Abī Umayya,[45] and 'Ubāda.[46] Three names only occur once, each one in a different *isnād*, who seem to have a positive effect on the story. That is, when the names of Rajā' b. Ḥaywa,[47] Muḥammad b. Sa'īd,[48] or Khālid b. Ma'dān[49] appear the story does not have as negative a tone as the one story in which none of these names occur[50] (For the *isnād* see Figure 1.1 at the end of this chapter).

In the negative story it is 'Umar who writes to Mu'āwiya. He first tells him that 'he has heard that the Mediterranean Sea every day asks God's permission to drown the world, but God refuses.'[51] Then 'Umar states that Mu'āwiya should never think about disobeying his orders and going to sea. He also reminds him that al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī (see below), who opposed 'Umar, was never given such specific orders forbidding him, and yet he was also punished'[52] 'Umar tells him, "So be aware as not

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[45]He is Junāda b. Abī Umayya al-Azdī al-Zahrānī (d. 75, 80, or 86 A.H.) There is some dispute as to whether he was considered a Companion or not, although he is supposed to have transmitted *ḥadīths* from the Prophet, 'Umar, 'Alī and others. The fact that he was appointed as a naval commander by Mu'āwiya might lend more credence to his transmission of the story. Al-Mizzī, vol. 5, pp. 133-135 [no. 971].

[46]He is 'Ubāda b. Nusayy al-Kindī (d. 118 A.H.) He is considered a Syrian *tābi'ī* by Ibn Sa'd. He was also in the service of 'Abd al-Malik and 'Umar II. Al-Mizzī, vol. 14, pp. 194-198 [no. 3110]; For more on him see Donner, "The Problem with Early Arabic Historiography in Syria," pp. 9-12.

[47]He is Rajā' b. Ḥaywa b. Jarwal (or Jandal) b. al-Aḥnaf b. al-Simṭ b. Imru' al-Qays (d. 112 A.H.). Al-Mizzī, vol. 9, pp. 151-157 [no. 1890]. He supposedly convinced Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik to appoint his cousin 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz caliph after him.

[48]He is Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Ḥassān b. Qays al-Qurashī al-Asadī or al-Dimashqī or al-Urdunnī, Ibn al-Ṭabarī, better known as the Crucified One (*al-maṣlūb*). He was crucified by the caliph al-Manṣūr for being a *Zindīq*. He is considered a liar when it comes to *ḥadīth*. It is said that if he found a good saying he would not hesitate to create an *isnād* for it. Al-Mizzī, vol. 25, pp. 264-268 [no. 5241]; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 53, pp. 71-83 [no. 6384].

[49]He is Khālid b. Ma'dān b. Abī Kurayb al-Kalā'ī. (d. 103, 104, 105, 106, or 108 A.H.) He is considered a Syrian *tābi'ī* and was appointed judge under al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. Al-Mizzī, vol. 8, pp. 167-174 [no. 1653]; see Donner, "The Problem of Early Arabic Historiography in Syria," pp. 7-9.

[50]It is important to note that these three are Syrians, hence the positive influences on the story.

[51]It is interesting that 'Umar anthropomorphizes the Sea!

[52]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 259 [2822/1].

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to oppose me after I have fore-warned you, for you know what al-'Alā' received from me, and I had not fore-warned him" (*fa-iyyāka an ta'arraḍa lī, wa qad taqaddamtu ilayka, wa qad 'alimta mā laqiya al-'alā' minnī, wa lam ataqaddam ilayhi fī mithlī dhālika*).[53] This al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī[54] is the clue to why al-Ṭabarī has added this negative story, which Ibn al-Athīr uses exclusively in his narrative for the 'permission' part of the story.[55] We find that the incident to which 'Umar is alluding in the above letter to Mu'āwiya took place in the year 17 A.H. and concerns the conquest of Fārs.[56] Al-'Alā' took it upon himself to command his troops, in Bahrain, and take them to Fārs by sea. He and his troops were cut off from their ships and had to fight their way by land to al-Baṣra. Upon hearing the news, 'Umar became furious with al-'Alā' and ordered him to be Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ's subordinate.[57] This story not only explains why 'Umar opposed naval campaigns; it also helps explain why al-Ṭabarī was unenthusiastic about Mu'āwiya taking to the sea: "And 'Umar never permitted anyone to raid by sea, because he feared for his troops, following the examples of both the Prophet and Abū Bakr, neither of whom raided by sea [the pronoun here is referring to the sea]"(*wa kāna 'umar lā ya'dhanu li-aḥad fī rukūbih ghāziyan, yakrahu al-taghrīr bi-jundihi istinādan bi-al-nabī ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa bi-abī bakr, lam yaghzu fihi al-nabī ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa lā abū bakr*).[58] Thus we are

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[53]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 259 [2822/1].

[54]For more on his exploits see, Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 1, p. 263, 271, 276, 283, 295, 351; vol. 4, p. 15; Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, pp. 86, 327.

[55]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, pp. 468-469.

[56]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, pp. 79-81 [2546/1-2549/1].

[57]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 81 [2549/1].

[58]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 80 [2547/1]. There is a very interesting passage here wherein al-Ṭabarī uncharacteristically shows his personal opinion: he rebukes al-'Alā' for disobeying orders. For him, al-'Alā' deserved to be punished because he was disobedient: "*fa-lam yuqaddir fī al-ṭā'a wa*

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able to understand why, for al-Ṭabarī, naval campaigns were a bad idea. After all, the Prophet, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar never undertook any naval campaigns, and in the case of the latter he forbade his troops from such campaigns. In al-Ṭabarī's version, Mu'āwiya, after obtaining permission to go to sea, appoints 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Jāsī, a confederate of the Banū Fazāra, as the naval commander.[59] It is not quite certain whether al-Ṭabarī is simply relating the name of the commander of the navy at this period or if he is indicating that it was 'Abdallāh b. Qays who invaded Cyprus and not Mu'āwiya. It certainly appears that Ibn al-Athīr believes the latter to be the case. In his version, Mu'āwiya appoints 'Abdallāh b. Qays, who then meets up with 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd, who set out from Egypt, at Cyprus: "And he used (appointed over the forces) 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Jāsī, the confederate of Banū Fazāra, and the Muslims went from Syria to Cyprus, and Abdallāh b. Sa'd went to it (i.e., Cyprus) from Egypt and they joined forces there."[60]

Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī's version is much more detailed, especially with regard to both elements 2 and 3. As for element 1, the 'permission,' Ibn A'tham's version is an abridgment of the one found in al-Balādhurī. Here Mu'āwiya writes to 'Uthmān asking permission "to ride the sea to invade Cyprus," and explaining that the island is fairly close and that the sea has calmed since its difficult days. 'Uthmān responds saying that he will not allow Mu'āwiya to cross the sea and reminding him that 'Umar forbade him from doing the same. But if Mu'āwiya insists on going, then he should take his wife

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al-ma'ṣiya wa 'awāqibihimā, " p. 79. On the importance of obedience for al-Ṭabarī, see Joseph Bradin Roberts, *Early Islamic Historiogrpahy*, pp. 221-226, 265-281.

[59]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 260 [2824/1].

[60]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 469. The text reads: "*wa ista'mala 'abdallāh ibn qays al-jāsī ḥalīf banī fazāra, wa sār al-muslimūn min al-shām ilā qubruṣ, wa sāra ilayhā 'abdallāh ibn sa'd min miṣr, fa-ijtama'ū 'alayhā.*"

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and children to show 'Uthmān that the sea is as easy as he says.[61] Ibn A'tham goes on to talk about the campaign itself and how the Muslims encountered and took a number of Byzantine ships that were full of gifts from the king of Cyprus to Qusṭanṭīn (Constantine) son of Hirqal (Heraclius) the king of the Byzantines.[62] Ibn A'tham's treatment of the first and second element does not concern us, since it is very similar to the one found in al-Balādhurī. He could have simply used the same source that al-Balādhurī utilized and, being the compiler-editor that he was, simply applied his trade. This does not explain the most interesting addition in Ibn A'tham's version-- one which is found only in Ibn A'tham. It is the incident where the Muslims argue over the division of the booty.

This story is peculiar in its positive attitude towards Mu'āwiya and in the words that he is supposed to utter in the aftermath of the incident. Let us first describe the incident briefly, utilizing some of the narratives as sparingly as possible: When the Muslims were dividing up the booty of Cyprus there arose amongst them jealousy and rebuke. When an old Byzantine man saw this he told them: 'How can you do this when your Prophet but has died a few years ago; how will it be years from now?' A man from amongst the Muslims replied: 'Our commander (*amīrunā*) would not tolerate this.' To which the Byzantine told him that he should go and tell his commander of what is occurring. When Mu'āwiya heard about this he forbade these actions with the strongest of rebukes. He also brought out a letter of Abū Bakr to Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in which the former tells the Muslim soldiers to behave righteously in their actions against the enemies and amongst themselves. Upon hearing the letter, the Muslims

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[61] Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 117-118.

[62] Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 118-119. There is a most interesting anecdote about Mu'āwiya's wife asking the sailor in charge of their boat to stop the boat when it was being bounced by the waves. The interesting aspect of this story is that Mu'āwiya's wife calls the sailor 'al-Nūtī' which is clearly from the Greek 'nautes,' for sailor.

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asked God for forgiveness and stopped their corrupt ways. So when the Muslims returned to dividing the booty a number of the Prophet's Companions were sitting together, amongst them Abū al-Dardā',[63] 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit,[64] Shaddād b. Aws b. Thabit,[65] Wāthila b. al-Asqa',[66] Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī,[67] and 'Abdallāh b. Busr al-Māzinī,[68] when they saw two Anṣārī riding two donkeys, that they had taken from the booty. 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit asked them, 'Who gave you this,' and they said, 'Mu'āwiya, and we are going to go to pilgrimage on them.' 'Ubāda told them they had no right to take anything unless the Prophet himself gave them the donkeys, to which they replied, 'Where is the Prophet?' and gave the two donkeys back to Mu'āwiya informing him of what had happened. Upon hearing them Mu'āwiya went to 'Ubāda to question him on the matter of booty. 'Ubāda informed Mu'āwiya that he ('Ubāda)

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[63]His name was 'Uwaymir b. 'Āmir b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Qays b. Umayya b. 'Āmir b. 'Adī b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj (d. 32 or 33 A.H.); he died in Damascus. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, eds. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannā, Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Āshūr and Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Wahhāb Fāyid (Cairo: Dār al-Sha'b, 1970-73), vol. 6, pp. 97-98 [no. 5858]; see his biography also under 'Uwaymir b. 'Āmir in vol. 4, pp. 318-320 [no. 4136].

[64]He is 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit b. Qays b. Aṣram b. Fihr b. Th'alaba (d. 34 A.H.). He was sent to Syria by 'Umar to teach people the Qur'ān. Ibn al-Athīr adds an interesting story where 'Ubāda and Mu'āwiya had a falling out which made the former leave Syria. Upon arriving in Medina, 'Umar inquired what brought him back. When 'Umar heard that it was because of Mu'āwiya, he sent 'Ubāda back and wrote to Mu'āwiya that he has no power over 'Ubāda. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, pp. 160-161 [no. 3789]. This story is in sharp contrast to the story of Ibn A'tham.

[65]He is Shaddād b. Aws b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir (d. 41, 58, or 64 A.H.). He is the nephew of the famous companion-poet Ḥassān b. Thābit. He settled in Jerusalem after its conquest by the Muslims. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 2, pp. 507-508 [no. 2392].

[66]He is Wāthila b. al-Asqa' b. Ka'b b. 'Āmir b. Layth (d. 83 or 85 A.H.). He participated in the conquest of Damascus and Ḥimṣ. He lived in Jerusalem. Al-Mizzī, vol. 30, pp. 393-396 [no. 6659]; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 5, pp. 428-429 [no. 5422].

[67]His name is Ṣudayy b. 'Ajlān b. al-Ḥārith (d. 81 or 86 A.H.). He first settled in Egypt but then moved to Syria, specifically Ḥimṣ where he died. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 6, pp. 16-17 [no. 5688]; vol. 3, p. 16 [no. 2495].

[68]'Abdallāh b. Busr al-Māzinī (d. 88 or 96 A.H.). He settled in Syria after the Muslim conquest where he died. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 186 [no. 2837].

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had been with the Prophet at the battle of Ḥunayn.[69] After the battle the Prophet informed the people that only one fifth of the booty was eligible for him and even that portion went back to them. Mu'āwiya then said 'I appoint you as the supervisor of the booty, so divide it as you see fit.' 'Ubāda asks: 'How did you choose me?' Mu'āwiya answers: 'I chose you because the Commander of the Faithful[70] (meaning 'Uthmān) told me in his letter to appoint over the booty the best person I can find, and you are that person because of your early conversion and your companionship to the Prophet.'[71]

No other source that we have consulted has this story, which makes understanding the story's purpose problematic. Of course, if we can establish beyond doubt that it is authentic, then we are unburdened with trying to define its purpose, but unfortunately we cannot do that.[72] As was shown above, in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ's version 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit is a participant in the Conquest and yet Khalīfa does not include the story. It is therefore important to realize that there might be a purpose other than mere compiling.

I believe that Ibn A'tham makes a number of statements with this story. The

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[69] This is odd, since Mu'āwiya was also at the battle of Ḥunayn. Is the author of this story implying that Mu'āwiya simply forgot, or is he implying that Mu'āwiya was never at the battle? On this point see below. On Mu'āwiya being at Ḥunayn See: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Ne., vol. 7, p. 487.

[70] The use of this term, as opposed to 'caliph,' is very important. One can make the case that when the caliph's piety was questioned the term 'caliph' was utilized, and when his piety was being emphasized he was given the appellation 'Commander of the Faithful.'

[71] Ibn A'tham, *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 122-123.

[72] Although in essence it is not certain that every story needs to have a 'purpose,' if you will. We have made the argument in our introduction that we believe that Ibn A'tham was a great compiler. Thus it may be that he simply added this story to the section on the Conquest of Cyprus because he found it in another source that it took place during that time.

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first is that Mu'āwiya believes in the 'precedence' issue in Islam.[73] Thus when we come to the civil war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya we have to believe that the latter knew that the former was higher in standing because of his early conversion. The second and more positive role of the story lies in the fact that Mu'āwiya takes two actions that demonstrate his obedience to his caliphs. The first is that he produces the letter of Abū Bakr and reminds the people of its contents, and in a way imposes the orders with that letter without having to do so himself, he simply reminds the people of Abū Bakr's orders to Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. The second is that he puts 'Ubāda in charge of the booty not only because he is an early Companion of the Prophet, but also because 'Uthmān ordered him to appoint the 'best among you.'[74] As we shall see in the next chapter, all of these characteristics are missing in Mu'āwiya's character as it is depicted during the civil war. For now we will tackle our next story, which also took place before the civil war. Again here it should be noted that many of the characters involved in this story play a prominent role in the civil war.

The Depiction of the Eloquent/Obedient Governor

The final story we shall examine in this chapter deals with the way Mu'āwiya is portrayed in his dealings with the growing opposition to 'Uthmān's policies and appointees. Here we are interested in Mu'āwiya's argument with these men, specifically the words and arguments he uses to reprimand them for their perceived disobedience. We will also be asking how these arguments reflect on the worldview of those who supposedly uttered them.

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[73]For more on the whole legitimacy debate, see Moshe Sharon, "The Development of the Debate Around the Legitimacy of Authority in Early Islam." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984), pp. 121-141.

[74]It is also important to note that here Ibn A'tham is also praising 'Uthmān for giving such an order.

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This incident takes place in the year 33 A.H., about two years before the assassination of 'Uthmān. The incident starts in Kūfa when the head of the police (*al-shurṭa*)[75] agreed that all the *sawād* lands are indeed in the hands of the governor, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ. In some of the versions it is another character's son who 'wished' instead of 'agreed' that the *sawād* lands were owned by Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ.[76] Upon which a number of unnamed men[77] attacked that person and kept on beating him to the point where he fainted,[78] in some versions they are named.[79] Afterwards the governor, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, writes to the caliph 'Uthmān, who instructs him to send the culprits to Syria.[80] In Syria they are hosted by Mu'āwiya,[81] who holds two, or three separate discussions

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[75]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 171; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, pp. 528-530; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 4, p. 323 [2916/1]; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 512.

[76]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 4, p. 318 [2908]; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 512; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 24, p. 94.

[77]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 172; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 529; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 4, p. 323 [2916/1]; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 512.

[78]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, vol. 7, pp. 172-173, has a very condensed version. He only writes that some of the *qurrā'* of Kūfa were sent by the Commander of the Faithful to Syria because they had spoken rudely in the presence of Sa'īd. It is interesting that Ibn Kathīr uses the word *qabīḥ* (bad) to describe what was clearly, from the above versions, a political dispute! Although his report does not have anyone being sent to Mu'āwiya, the differences in al-Mas'ūdī's rendition should be noted here in brief. 1) Sa'īd is accused of stealing the moneys of the treasury. 2) Sa'īd might have written to 'Uthmān telling him that the Sawād is the property of Quraysh. 3) Most importantly, it was only al-Ashtar who verbally attacked Sa'īd for his claim on the Sawād and he, al-Ashtar, voluntarily went to Medina to 'Uthmān. See al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 346-347.

[79]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 4, p. 318 [2908]; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 512; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 24, p. 94: They were: Al-Ashtar, Ibn Dhī al-Ḥabaka (in Ibn al-Athīr it is Ḥanaka), Jundab, Ṣa'ṣa'a, Ibn al-Kawwā', Kumayl b. Ziyād, and 'Umayr b. Ḍābi'.

[80]We are not told whether this is a punishment or deferment. In Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 40; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 172; and even al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 4, p. 318 [2909/1], the action is more of a deferment for Mu'āwiya to find out what led this group to act in such a manner. On the other hand, in Ibn A'tham p. 173, we are given a clear indication that 'Uthmān is exiling the group, in particular al-Ashtar, because he might, "lead the people of Kūfa astray." He is to be held in Syria until further notice. In Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 24, pp. 94-95, 'Uthmān writes to the Kūfans that if their notables agree on exiling the above-mentioned persons, then they are to be sent to Mu'āwiya.

[81]It is odd, at least to this reader, that they are hosted in a church by the name of Maryam! Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 4, p. 319 [2909/1]. It seems that churches and monasteries are places where

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with them. Finally, after an unspecified period of time, they are expelled or allowed to leave after these discussions come to naught. Our interest here is in the discussions that took place between this group and Mu'āwiya.

Al-Ṭabarī presents two versions, one from Sayf ibn 'Umar through al-Sarī[82] and another version from al-Sha'bī[83] through al-Wāqidī.[84] Al-Ṭabarī tells us where the stories converge, and he inserts the differences when they are relevant. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, in his usual editorial fashion, presents only one version that more than likely he himself compiled/edited from other versions in order to make it more coherent. Ibn al-Athīr utilizes both of al-Ṭabarī's narratives. Al-Balādhurī's version is quite short with very little included on the discussions between Mu'āwiya and the exiled Kūfans. As for Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Kathīr, they are both extremely condensed versions of the incident; Ibn al-Jawzī only mentions the incident and the names of those who were sent to Mu'āwiya from Kūfa.[85] Before we analyze the discussion that took place between Mu'āwiya and the group from Kūfa, a word on who these people were.

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important events occur in Umayyad history. Ḥujr b. 'Adī was executed at a place named Marj 'Adhrā', and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz died in some reports in a monastery by the name of Sim'ān. Al-Balādhurī is the only source in which the exiled from Kūfa stay at a different place, namely the residence of one 'Amr b. Zurāra. *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 532.

[82]Since a copy of that version is to be found in Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 24, pp. 95-96, we will confine ourselves to al-Ṭabarī.

[83]This is the famous scholar, judge and transmitter, 'Āmir b. Sharāḥil al-Sha'bī (d. ca. 103-107). He was born towards the middle of the caliphate of 'Umar, the second caliph. He was appointed judge by 'Umar II. He relates that one day when he was holding court in the mosque, with only a woman in his presence, when a man walked in and asked, "which one of you is al-Sha'bī?" He answered, "Her" pointing to the woman. Al-Mizzī, vol. 4, pp. 28-41 [no. 3042].

[84]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 4, p. 322 [2915/1]. The exact *isnād* =Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī d. 207 A.H.) from Shaybān who is not known. For possible candidates see, al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-I'tidāl*, vol. 2, pp. 285-286. He transmitted from Mujālid who is Mujālid b. Sa'īd b. 'Umayr b. Bisṭām al-Hammadānī (d. 144 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 27, pp. 219-225 [no. 5780]. He transmitted from al-Sha'bī, who was the famous transmitter of *ḥadīth* mentioned in the previous note.

[85]Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, pp. 40-41.

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Most of the above authors give us a list of the names of the persons sent to Mu'āwiya; some of these authors wait to the end of their narratives before they give us the list.[86] Four names from the group are common to all the authors with varying degrees of accuracy. These names are: 1) al-Ashtar; 2) Thābit b. Qays (al-Nakha'ī in Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Kathīr, al-Hamdānī in Ibn al-Athīr, and in both Ibn A'tham and al-Ṭabarī there is no clan affiliation but the grandfather Munqa' is added); 3) Kumayl b. Ziyād (al-Ṭabarī is the only one who adds his attribution to the clan of al-Nakha'); and 4) Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Ṣuḥān (although Ibn Kathīr does not have him in his list he has him act as the spokesman in his narrative).[87] The two most prominent names are al-Ashtar and Ṣa'ṣa'a. Al-Ashtar plays an even more important role in the battle of Ṣiffīn.[88] As for Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Ṣuḥān, he becomes a prominent figure of the quietist opposition to Mu'āwiya in later narratives.[89]

This group's discussion with Mu'āwiya will be our next focus. It should be noted that the texts that are found in al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr are almost identical but for a few words that are clearly the latter's editorial additions, and thus we shall use the former's text. On the other hand, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī's rendition is quite different[90] and therefore must be given, if not in whole, then in part. Even though Ibn Kathīr's

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[86]Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn al-Jawzī. Al-Ṭabarī does not include a list from the Sayf version but has one at the beginning of the version from al-Wāqidī. Al-Balādhurī does not give us a list but one can ascertain certain names from the narrative.

[87]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 4, p. 323 [2917/1]; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 174; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 40; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 173; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 173.

[88]His role in the siege and killing of 'Uthmān is shrouded in mystery. In some of the narrations he is present there but plays a minor role, if any.

[89]For more on Ṣa'ṣa'a in the role of an Old Testament prophet, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. 4, p. 20; 32; 40; 102-103, where we are given Ṣa'ṣa'a's lineage in full; p. 117.

[90]The version found in al-Balādhurī is similar in part to that found in Ibn A'tham. The al-Balādhurī version adds that Zayd b. Ṣuḥān was singled out by Mu'āwiya and sent back to Kūfa for his honesty and goodness. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 532.

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rendition is very concise, by looking at his version we will be able to surmise which of the above versions he used.

Al-Ṭabarī, as we said above, has two versions, one from Sayf and the other from al-Wāqidī.[91] Sayf's version is basically what we shall call the 'tribal vision,' because in this version the argument between Mu'āwiya and the Kūfan exiles pertains to the Quraysh and its legitimacy in occupying the leadership position--i.e., an anticipation of the civil war issues--suggests that the account is a later fabrication designed to air those issues. Mu'āwiya begins by telling the Kūfan exiles that it was only through Islam that they have achieved honor and were able to defeat other nations. He adds that God has singled out the Quraysh in the pre-Islamic and the Islamic period. Through God's will, the Quraysh were put in the position of leadership over all the Arabs (in pre-Islamic times) and Muslims (in Islamic times), and that is why they, the exiled group, should obey their leaders, who are from the Quraysh. Ṣa'ṣa'a plays the role of the spokesperson in Sayf's version and responds by disputing the Quraysh's prestige and power during the *jāhiliyya*. He adds that if the present leadership is deposed then these positions will be open to others like them.[92] Mu'āwiya then adds his very predestinarian assessment of their actions, saying that they are straying towards evil through God's decree.[93] Mu'āwiya leaves them and they become ashamed

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[91] It would be more accurate to have put either al-Sarī in opposition to al-Wāqidī or Muḥammad and Ṭalḥa in opposition to al-Sha'bī as the former is the first and the latter the last names in the *isnād*. But even al-Ṭabarī recognizes that it is Sayf and al-Wāqidī. In the case of the former he says: "*fa-ammā sayf fa-innahu dhakara fīmā kataba bihi ilayya al-sarī*:" Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 317 [2907].

[92] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, pp. 317-322 [2907-2915].

[93] "*inna al-shayṭān 'ankum ghayr ghāfil, qad 'arafakum bi-al-sharri min bayn ummatikum, fa-aghrā bikum al-nās; wa huwa ṣāri'ukum. laqad 'alima annahu lā yastaṭī' an yarudda bikum qaḍā'an qaḍāhu allāh, wa lā amran arādahu allāh, wa lā tudrikūn bi-al-sharri amran abadan illā fataḥa allāh 'alaykum sharran minhu wa akhzā*." Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 320 [2912/1]. It is quite clear that Mu'āwiya in this speech views the Devil as simply doing God's will and that he is not working independently.

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of what they have done; "they argued amongst themselves and felt humiliated" (*fa-tadhāmarū fa-taqāṣarat ilayhim anfusuhum*).[94] Then Mu'āwiya returns and tells them (which seems at first glance very odd and out of place) that the Prophet, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān have all appointed him in administrative positions.

The al-Wāqidī version in al-Ṭabarī at first follows closely the above version from Sayf. At the point at which Mu'āwiya leaves, al-Wāqidī's version diverges sharply. Unlike Sayf, al-Wāqidī's Mu'āwiya argues with a narrower outlook, one that we shall call a 'clan vision.' First, Mu'āwiya tells the Kūfan exiles that he is not asking of them anything that he does not ask of himself or his household (*ahl baytī*) or his retinue (*khāṣṣatī*).[95] He then starts his argument in favor of his clan by extolling the virtue of his father, Abū Sufyān, whom Mu'āwiya praises and his father, Ḥarb, as being the most noble of the Quraysh. Not only that, but had Abū Sufyān been the father of all men they would all have been prudent.[96] Ṣa'ṣa'a, who is also the spokesperson in this story, tells Mu'āwiya that God created one who is far better than Abū Sufyān,

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[94] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 320 [2912/2].

[95] Although we translated the word *khāṣṣa* as 'retinue' it should be thought of as a synonym for 'household.' It could be that al-Wāqidī meant it as retinue and al-Ṭabarī took it as such, but for us Mu'āwiya, if he uttered this word, he must have meant "my household." Our reason stems from the evidence in the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. In the Qur'ān the word occurs in different forms three times. In 2:105 and 3:74 the word, in a verbal form, means 'singles out' "*wallāhu yakhtaṣṣu bi-raḥmatihi man yashā'u*" "*yakhtaṣṣu bi-raḥmatihi man yashā'u wallāhu dhū al-faḍli al-'aẓīm.*" In Qur'ān 8:25, in adverbal form, it means 'to the exclusion of' "*wa ittaqū fitnatan lā tuṣībanna al-ladhīna ẓalamū minkum khāsa.*" In Qur'ān 59:9, in nominal form, the word means 'need' "*wa yū'thirūna 'alā anfusihim wa law kāna bihim khaṣāṣa.*" In different forms, the root *ḥ.ṣ.ṣ* is also found in *ḥadīth* literature. Only in one instance does it come close to what al-Wāqidī implies in the above sentence. Although it occurs several times the closest one to the above meaning is the one that occurs in a *ḥadīth* from Umm Salīm which uses a diminutive verbal noun to refer to the companion of the Prophet, Anas; " *wa khuwayiṣṣatuka anasun*" which according to Ibn al-Athīr means the person who is specializing in serving you. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa al-athar*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1963), vol. 2, p. 37. To see the word in all its varied uses from 'particular' to 'entourage' see 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib's letter to 'Abdallāh b. Marwān found in Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, *Jamhart rasā'il al-'Arab fī 'uṣūr al-'Arabiyya al-zāhira* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī & sons., 1937), vol. 2, pp. 481, 486, 488, 489, 493.

[96] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, pp. 323-324 [2918].

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namely Adam, and that amongst his progeny there were not only good but also evil men. At this point Mu'āwiya leaves them. Upon returning,[97] he first asks them to answer him only with good (words), or to be silent and to think about what might be beneficial for them, their family, their tribe and the whole community of the Muslims. Ṣa'ṣa'a tells Mu'āwiya that he should not expect to be obeyed when doing so could mean disobeying God: "Your are not worthy of that (i.e., respect/obedience) and you are not so noble as to be obeyed in defiance of God" (*lasta bi-ahli dhālik wa-lā karāmata laka an tuṭā'a fī ma'ṣiyat allāh*).[98] In response to this Mu'āwiya more or less asks them to fear God, obey His Prophet and their leaders. Ṣa'ṣa'a responds by making a very blunt demand of Mu'āwiya: he asks for his resignation. He also tells him that there is a person whose father as well as himself have a better precedent in Islam than Mu'āwiya, and that person is more deserving of this position (governor?) than Mu'āwiya.[99] Mu'āwiya then voices the answer that is always put in his mouth when the issue of precedence in Islam is brought up:[100] that he is the most qualified to

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[97]One can deduce from this story that his return took place the next day, though Humphreys, in his translation of Al-Ṭabarī has the time span be one year. See Stephen Humphreys, *The History of al-Ṭabarī Vol. XV: The Crisis of the Early Caliphate* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 1990), p. 122. The authors are not precise on the time period between each meeting, but it is certain that they are trying to convey that these discussions took place over a period of time, and were not concluded in just one session.

[98]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 324 [2918/1].

[99]"*fa-innā na'muruka an ta'tazila 'amalaka, fa-inna fī al-muslimīna man huwa aḥaqqu bihi minka. qāla: man huwa? qāla: man kāna abūhu aḥsana qadaman min abīka, wa huwa binafsihi aḥsanu qadaman minka fī al-islām.* " Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 324 [2919/1]. Ṣa'ṣa'a is most likely referring to 'Alī. Yet this in itself is problematic, since it would be too early for Ṣa'ṣa'a to be comparing 'Alī with Mu'āwiya. It is also questionable whether in the eyes of the jurists Abū Ṭālib was better than Abū Sufyān. The first died an unbeliever and the latter, albeit later than most, converted to Islam. This is not the thinking of every source, see Fred Donner, "The Death of Abū Ṭālib," *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope*, eds. John H. Marks and Robert M. Good (Guillford, CT: Four Quarters Press, 1987), pp. 237-245.

[100]It will be noticed in the third chapter that Mu'āwiya's character does not even attempt to counter argue, as he does above, when it comes to the precedent of 'Alī. Instead, he changes the subject to the death of 'Uthmān.

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be governor, and that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb saw that in him and thus chose him for that task.[101] Then, as in the Sayf version, Mu'āwiya adds that the Kūfan exiles are obeying the devil and disobeying God. But unlike the Sayf version, here Mu'āwiya's words are peculiarly oriented toward free will.[102] At this point, the conversation deteriorates into a physical attack on Mu'āwiya.

Before we analyze the above we shall look at two more versions, Ibn A'tham's and Ibn Kathīr's. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī's version, as we said above, seems to have been compiled and put together from the above versions;[103] in fact, it is only here that we get a truly Kūfan perspective of the whole incident. In all the above versions we have simply the speakers from the Kūfan exiles responding to Mu'āwiya's arguments. In contrast, one could call Ibn A'tham's rendition the 'exile version' because of its perspective. Ibn A'tham begins the discussion with Mu'āwiya quoting Qur'ān 3:105: "Do not follow the example of those who became divided and opposed to one another after veritable proofs had been given them."[104] Then it is one Kumayl b. Ziyād, rather than Ṣa'ṣa'a, who is the first to speak. He answers Mu'āwiya with another quote from the Qur'ān, namely 2:213

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[101]The text reads: "*wa lakinnahu laysa fī zamānī aḥadun aqwā 'alā mā anā fīhi minnī; wa laqad ra'ā dhālika 'umar ibn al-khaṭṭāb.* "

[102]Mu'āwiya's words can be roughly translated as, "Slow down for in that and its like, is what the devil wishes and orders . . .; for it is for God to take vengeance and to attack, and I fear for you that you may follow in the obedience of Satan until it becomes lawful for you to obey Satan and disobey God." The Arabic text reads: (*fa-mahlan fa-inna fī dhālika wa ashbāhihi mā yatamannā al-shayṭān wa yā'muru . . .; ammā wallāhi inna lillāhi lasaṭawātin wa niqamātin, wa innī lakhā'if 'alaykum an tatāya'ū fī muṭāwa'at al-shayṭān ḥattā tuḥillakum muṭāwa'at al-shayṭān wa ma'ṣiyat al-raḥmān*). Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 4, pp. 324-325 [2919/1]. Here it is clear that Mu'āwiya is putting the blame on the shoulders of these men in their disobedience to God and obedience to the Devil.

[103]Here we are working on the assumption that the more confused a version is the earlier it might be, and the coherent versions, such as those of Ibn A'tham and Ibn Kathīr, are later redactions. But that might not be always the case, as it will become apparent later in our analysis.

[104] For the translation of the Qur'ān we have relied on *The Koran*, trans. N.J. Dawood (1956; Reprint, England: Penguin Books, 1999).

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> Mankind were once but one community. Then God sent forth prophets to give them good news and to warn them, and with these He sent down the Book with the Truth, that it might serve as arbiter in the disputes of men. None disputed it save those to whom it was given, and that was through envy of one another, after veritable signs had been vouchsafed them. So God guided by His will those who believed in the truth which had been disputed. God guides whom He will to the straight path.

After Mu'āwiya tells Kumayl that the people to whom this verse alludes are those who obey God, the Prophet and the leaders, al-Ashtar interrupts. In Ibn A'tham's version al-Ashtar is the spokesperson. Here al-Ashtar explains why these exiles made trouble in Kūfa: 'After the Prophet, good people (meaning Abū Bakr and 'Umar) ruled who adhered to the Book of God and the Prophet's *Sunna*. After that, there occurred certain occurrences (*thumma ḥadathat ba'da dhālik aḥdāth*)[105] which a group of believers from those who are obedient to God came to reject.'[106] Al-Ashtar adds that he and the Kūfan exiles are among this group, and as such they could not remain silent as all these wrongdoings were taking place. Hearing this, Mu'āwiya rebukes al-Ashtar and the Kūfan exiles whom he accuses of declaring their enmity towards 'us.'[107] Mu'āwiya sends them to prison and only frees them when Ṣa'ṣa'a intercedes on their behalf.[108] When the exiles are released, the conversation is resumed and becomes very similar to

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[105]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 175.

[106]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 175. The exact words are "*al-mū'minūn min ahli ṭā'at allāh*"

[107]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 176. We are not certain to whom the 'us' refers; it is assumed that it refers to the Quraysh in general and the Umayyads in particular.

[108]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 177. Ṣa'ṣ'a's role is note clear. That is we are not told if he was amongst the exiles, and if he was why was he not imprisoned with the rest of them?

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the above versions. Mu'āwiya tells them: 'Am I not a great person for freeing you even though you deserved prison? Abū Sufyān was a mild-tempered person (*ḥalīm*) and had he been the father of all people they all would have been mild-tempered like him.'[109] Ṣa'ṣa'a answers that: 'A better person fathered all people (i.e., Adam) yet even so many more are ill-tempered than are mild-tempered.'[110] Mu'āwiya's answer is more typical for a situation after the civil war than before the civil war. He says: "May God kill you! You have been given an iron tongue!"[111] Mu'āwiya then tells them to go and to be good to their leaders, at which point Ṣa'ṣa'a tells him: 'We won't obey anyone by disobeying God.' Mu'āwiya simply tells them to go to hell. He leaves and they are put under house arrest for an unspecified period of time.[112]

Our next narrative is that of Ibn Kathīr who basically summarizes the incident in his own words. Ibn Kathīr states that when the Kūfan exiles met with Mu'āwiya, he asked them to maintain the unity of the community and the Kūfan exiles, through an unnamed spokesperson, replied with ugly and rude words.[113] Ibn Kathīr then tells us that Mu'āwiya praised the Quraysh, the Prophet, and his father. Ṣa'ṣa'a answered him back that Adam was better. Mu'āwiya, according to Ibn Kathīr, continued in his effort to advise them and they continued in their stupidity, until he expelled them from Syria.[114]

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[109]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 177. This is what we mean by the logical sense of the story in Ibn A'tham. Here, unlike the above examples, there is a reason for Mu'āwiya's reference to his father. He is arguing that he let them go because of his *ḥilm*, which he inherited from his father.

[110]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 177. Here he is referring to Adam.

[111]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 177.

[112]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 177.

[113]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 172.

[114]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, vol. 7, pp. 172-173. This is clearly a summary of al-Ṭabarī's (more specifically, al-Wāqidī's) version.

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Conclusion

It is clear from the above narratives that each author or narrator had something in mind that he wanted to convey while trying to keep as close as possible to the story, or he wished to convey a moral or political point and used several known personalities to convey his particular point. As we have discussed in our introduction, to each incident in Islamic history there is a number of core points around which the historian has structured his version. In the above story this 'core' is that there were a number of Kūfan exiles sent to Syria after a dispute they had with their governor. Who these people were and what they discussed with Mu'āwiya varies slightly from one historian to the other. Al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Kathīr, and to a lesser extent al-Balādhurī all have the exiles rebuked by Mu'āwiya for their lack of obedience. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, on the other hand, concerns himself with presenting the Kūfan side of the story. But even in doing so he betrays the fact that it is after all a question of obedience. For Ibn A'tham has al-Ashtar call his group "the believers who obey God," as opposed to "those who obey people," whoever those people may be. That is why Mu'āwiya was so defensive in his response and saw al-Ashtar's words as an attack on the leadership.[115] And even though Mu'āwiya was not able to defend his position in the Ibn A'tham version, in all the rest he does quite well. In all but Ibn A'tham al-Kufī's version, Mu'āwiya speaks quite passionately and from a strong position. He utilizes the Qur'ān quite extensively, at least more so than in any other situation. He presents a sound and logical argument about the reason for the Quraysh occupying the leadership position. And finally, in all versions but those of Ibn A'tham and al-Balādhurī, it is not he who disciplines the Kūfans but rather Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Wālīd.

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[115]The exact words were: "*yā ashtar! innī arāka mu'linan bi-khilāfinā murtaḍiyan bi-al-'adāwati lanā*, " Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 176.

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All the above characteristics disappear in depictions of Mu'āwiya as soon as the civil war starts. Nowhere during the civil war is Mu'āwiya able to argue a point as well as he does in the above story, and he never utilizes Qur'ānic imagery to the same extent as he does above, if at all. Not only is Mu'āwiya able to convey his position, but he summarizes what one could call the worldview of an Umayyad.[116] Mu'āwiya, in his explanation about the Quraysh's high position before and after Islam in God's scheme, conveys the Umayyad view of the election of the Quraysh in general and in particular to the leadership position: That it is God's will that they, the Quraysh, were chosen above all other Arabs not only to have Islam conveyed through them but also to be the leaders of this community above all Muslims. Why else, according to Mu'āwiya, would the Quraysh not have been destroyed by fate (*al-dahr*) like all the other nations of the world?[117]

In all of the above incidents, the killing of Khubayb, the conquest of Cyprus and the discussion with the Kūfan exiles, Mu'āwiya's character is fluid. He is not confined to any particular role that he has to play. On the contrary, in the above incidents and all those that take place before the civil war, Mu'āwiya is a person of many hats. We are almost able to build a biography of the person with little or no effort spent in the shedding of layers upon layers of religio-political point of views. This is not so with the reports we shall deal with in our next chapter.

In the next chapter we shall meet a very different Mu'āwiya. A negative incidental, a cowardly commander, and an inarticulate representative of the Quraysh.

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[116]Now whether this was what Mu'āwiya himself would have been thinking is not certain. But this worldview does explain the actions of the later Umayyads, specifically the Marwanids, and their tenacious adherence to predestination.

[117]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 319 [2911].

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and a Mu'āwiya who seldom quotes the Qur'ān,[118] and who is confined by his role as the protagonist in the story of someone else, namely 'Alī. Mu'āwiya is so confined in that role that his character does not evolve but instead he is metamorphosed. This is our next Mu'āwiya, the Mu'āwiya of the civil war.

[118]There is one time only where Mu'āwiya resorts to the Qur'ān in his argument with 'Alī, albeit in a round about way. This incident is when a number of *qurrā'* at Ṣiffīn decide to go from one camp to another to discuss the dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 189.

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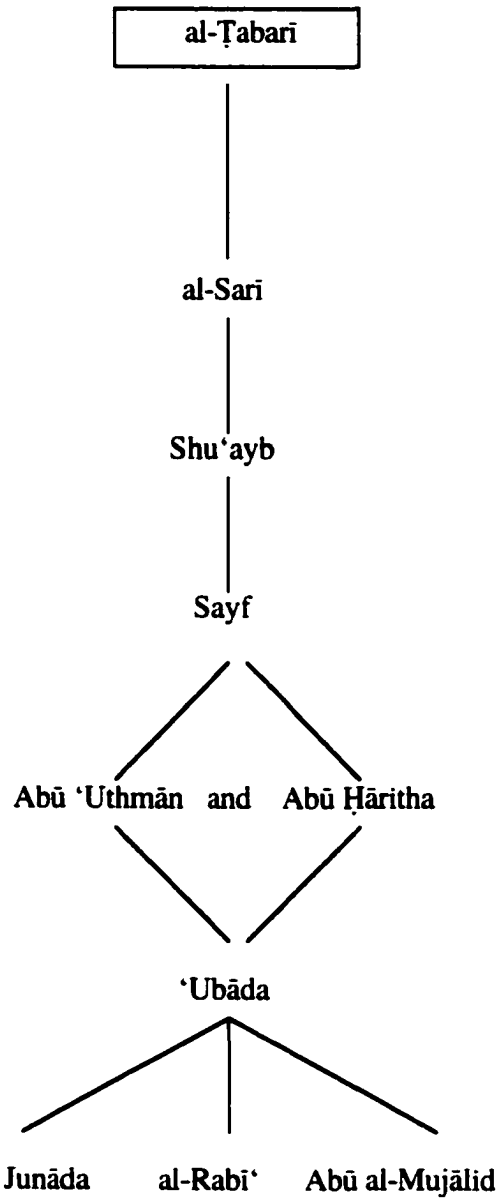

Figure 1.1 The Conquest of Cyprus 'negative' *isnād*.

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CHAPTER 3

CIVIL WAR MU'ĀWIYA: THE INCIDENTAL, THE COWARD, THE INARTICULATE

The contents of this chapter parallel those of the previous chapter. What we mean is that here, in our discussion of the depiction of Mu'āwiya during the civil war, we will utilize the same number of depictions as we did in the previous chapter, and the depictions shall be the same form. As in the previous chapter, the first depiction will be an incidental one in form, that is, Mu'āwiya's presence or absence has no impact on the story whatsoever. Here, though, the story has extremely negative overtones. The second story will be of Mu'āwiya's actions as a commander, but, unlike in the previous chapter, here the commander is a coward.[1] The last story we have chosen depicts Mu'āwiya arguing with the opposition as in the previous chapter.[2] Here however, Mu'āwiya is not only inarticulate, but his statements are narrow in their focus and his argument is confined to 'revenge for the blood of 'Uthmān.'

It is when the narratives are describing the events immediately after the killing of 'Uthmān that we find the sources imbued with symbols and labels that evoke the past narrative of the Prophetic *Sīra*. It is at this point that suddenly the character of

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[1]To be sure there are other incidents of Mu'āwiya being portrayed as a coward throughout the civil war than the one we have chosen. For instance, there is the refusal of Mu'āwiya to duel with 'Alī at Ṣiffīn. See, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 274-275, 316, 387. Still the incident which we have chosen is found in many more sources and in several different forms.

[2]There are quite a number of narratives of negotiations between 'Alī's messengers and Mu'āwiya. The reason for our choice is its close resemblance in form to the discussion of the Kūfan exiles with Mu'āwiya which we have tackled in the second chapter.

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Mu'āwiya is transformed. No longer is he the brave, maverick governor of the province of Syria; instead, he is a cowardly and sheepish usurper. This characterization is made more and more evident by the stories that repeatedly hammer into the reader's mind the same theme: that Mu'āwiya is a disloyal usurper with no right to the caliphate or even the governorship of Syria; and that he is a worldly, conniving coward whose indecisiveness is clearly manifest. This is contrasted with the brave, decisive and legitimate caliph 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who, except for the Syrians, has the support of all the Community. These themes are repeated adinfinitum in the sources by having different personalities throughout the crisis, on either side of the conflict, repeat one or all of the above observations concerning 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. This notion that Mu'āwiya was in the wrong and 'Alī in the right is repeated in the narratives on the post-civil war period also, but not with the same viciousness; rather, it is presented in the form of a nostalgic look backward. Usually it is either a member of the 'Alid, 'Abbasid, or Zubayrid branch of the Quraysh, or a well known pious person,[3] who reminds Mu'āwiya that he usurped the position of the caliph.

Before going into the first 'incidental' depiction we need to look at one particular story that is utilized as a preamble to Ṣiffīn in almost all of our sources. As we mentioned in the Introduction, Mu'āwiya's roles in the narratives of the civil war are quite specific. Here Mu'āwiya's depiction had to follow a set of parameters from which he could not be extracted. These parameters are set-up quite effectively through the 'set-up' story, which we will be discussing below.

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[3]These include, but are not limited to, Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Ṣūḥān, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr.

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The Set-up/Framework

Petersen, who believes the story to be false, correctly points out that the point of the story is ". . . to establish that Mu'āwiya, unlike 'Alī, is religiously unworthy."[4] But Petersen neglects the importance of such a story for our understanding of the historian's attitude towards the conflict by simply dismissing the whole thing as legendary.[5] Although Mu'āwiya does not play a direct role in this story, its importance lies in its synopsis of what the whole conflict is all about. Indeed, it will be shown that its purpose is to frame for the audience what this war is about. It is a sort of political broadside by the partisans of 'Alī clarifying for the audience the real issues behind the civil war (unfortunately we don't have a rebuttal from the other side). The persons chosen for this story were 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and his two sons, 'Abdallāh and Muḥammad.

The story begins with 'Amr at his residence in al-Sab'[6] which was called 'Ajlān.[7] It was there that the news of the death of 'Uthmān, the accession of 'Alī to the caliphate, and the uprising of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and 'Ā'isha, reached him. Although the story makes it quite clear that 'Amr is anti-'Alī, he did not join the anti-'Alī group but instead decided to stay outside of the conflict. It was when he was told of the death of Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr and that Mu'āwiya had refused to recognize 'Alī that 'Amr decided

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[4]Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya*, p. 33.

[5]Petersen points out that "there is hardly reason to assume that these tales have any value as a source . . . ." see his, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya*, p. 33.

[6]Al-Sab' was a village in Palestine between Jerusalem and al-Karak, so called because of its seven wells. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr supposedly died there in the year 73 A.H. Most probably it is in reference to Beersheba, in southern Palestine. See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. Farīd 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jundī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1990), vol. 3, p. 209 [no. 6250]; E. Honigmann, "Bīr al-Sab'" *E.I.*^{2} vol. 1, p. 1233.

[7]Only Ibn 'Asākir and al-Dhahabī have him somewhere else, that is in Mecca. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 46, p. 166; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 93.

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to seek advice from his two sons, 'Abdallāh and Muḥammad.[8] 'Abdallāh, who was known for his piety and figures prominently later in emphasizing the error of 'Amr and Mu'āwiya fighting 'Alī, told his father to stay away from the dispute. In contrast, Muḥammad told his father that he must participate, to which 'Amr answers: "As for you, O 'Abdallāh, you advised me for that which is good for my religion, and as for you, O Muḥammad, you advised me for that which is good for my world."[9] This story is repeated by Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Ibn 'Asākir, Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, and al-Dhahabī. The latter part of the story, where 'Amr declares his opinion on each piece of advice, is not of import for us; rather it is the words of the advisors themselves that we will look at more closely.

Only four of our sources have *isnāds* to the story. They are, al-Ṭabarī,[10] Naṣr b. Muzāḥim,[11] Ibn 'Asākir,[12] who has three *isnāds*, and finally al-Dhahabī, who has

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[8]The above sequence of events is taken from al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 560 [3252/1].

[9]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 34-35; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 560 [3253/1].

[10] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 560 [3252/1]. He has it from al-Wāqidī who has it from Mūsā b. Ya'qūb b. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Zam'a (d. ca. 150s A.H.) from his paternal uncle Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Zam'a. For Mūsā see al-Mizzī, vol. 29, pp. 171-173 [no. 6315].

[11]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 34. See Figure 2.3 at the end of the chapter.

[12]There are actually three different *isnāds* in Ibn 'Asākir as he has three different versions of the story. See Figures 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 at the end of this chapter. The first and second *isnād and* their respective *matn* are similar to those found in al-Dhahabī. The following names are from the first *isnād:* Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb b. al-Rayyān al-'Uklī al-Tamīmī (Kūfan, d. 203 A.H.), see al-Mizzī, vol. 10, pp. 40-47 [no. 2095]; Juwayriya b. Asmā' b. 'Ubayd b. Mukhāriq al-Ḍuba'ī (d. 173 A.H.), see al-Mizzī, vol. 5, pp. 172-174; T.T. vol. 2, pp. 124-125 [no. 202]. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, see T.T. vol. 6, pp. 454-455 [no. 939]; al-Mizzī, vol. 18, pp. 522-523 [no. 3609]. The following names are found in the second *isnād*: Abū Yūsuf who is possibly Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Qurashī al-Zuhrī (d. 208 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 32, pp. 308-311 [no. 7082]; T.T. vol. 6, pp. 369-370 [no. 9321/247]; Muḥammad b. Isḥāq who is probably the famous Ibn Isḥāq the author of the *Sīra* (d. ca. 150 A.H.). Although there is no indication that he transmitted from 'Abdallāh b. 'Urwa he did from his brother Yaḥyā and his second cousin Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubyar. Al-Mizzī, vol. 24, pp. 405-428 [no. 5057]; 'Abdallāh b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, al-Mizzī, vol. 15, pp. 296-305 [no. 3425]; for 'Urwa see following note. The third and final *isnād* does not hold any names that are in common with any of the other *isnāds* but the story is almost identical to that found in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*. The following names are found in the *isnād:* Ibrāhim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Alī Abū Isḥāq al-Hamdānī al-Kīsā'ī (d. 281 A.H.), Ibn Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 6, pp. 387-392 [no. 392]; 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Abān al-Ju'fī (d. 238 or 239 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 15, pp. 345-347 [no. 3444]; 'Amr b. Muḥammad al-

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two.[13] It is strange that none of the above authors uses 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr in their *isnād*. This is odd because 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr was known to be a famous traditionalist who is supposed to have transmitted more than a thousand *ḥadīths* from the Prophet.[14] It is also odd since this conversation supposedly took place between 'Abdallāh, his half-brother Muḥammad and their father 'Amr with no one else present.[15]

If we look at these different versions, seven to be exact, we can get a good idea about the thrust of the story, and by implication the opinion of the historians. Our first version, which is found in Ibn al-Jawzī, is one of the latest:

> 'Abdallāh said: I think that you should remain idle and stay in your house until the people agree on an *imām* so that you may give him the *bay'a*. Muḥammad said: You are one of the leaders of the Arabs, and I don't see this matter concluding without you having a say or mention.
> (*fa-qāla 'abdallāh: arā an takuffa yadaka wa-tajlis fī baytika ḥattā yajtami'a al-nāsu 'alā imāmin fa-tubāyi'ahu, fa-qalā muḥammad: antā*

'Anqarī (d. 199 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 21, pp. 220-223 [no. 4444]; al-Walīd 'al-Balkhī' (probably it should be al-Bajalī). This name, al-Bajalī, occurs in an *isnād* in the entry on Mu'āwiya, Ibn 'Asākir. *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 59, p. 131. His full name is, al-Walīd b. Kāmil b. Mu'ādh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Umayya al-Bajalī; he was known to use Syrian sources. Al-Mizzī, vol. 31, pp. 70-71 [no. 6731].

[13]Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 93. He has two different versions with two different *isnāds* (see Figure 2.1 and 2.2 at the end of this chapter) although one can argue that they are almost identical since both come from a Zubayrid. The following names occur in the first *isnād*: for Juwayriya and 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubyar, see above. Only the following name is found in the second *isnād*: 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr. (d. 91, 92, 93, or 94 A.H.). According to Ibn Sa'd he is in the second *ṭabaqa* of Medinan *tābi'ūn*. He transmitted numerous *ḥadīth*s from his maternal aunt 'Ā'isha. T.T. vol. 7, pp. 180-185 [no. 351]; al-Mizzī, vol. 20, pp. 11-25 [no. 3905].

[14]See further: al-Mizzī, vol. 15, pp. 357-363 [no. 3450]; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 31, pp. 238-291 [no. 3434].

[15]Although, Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 55, pp. 26-27, has a version of the incident with 'Amr's slave Wardān, Muḥammad and 'Abdallāh. Not only do we not have any *isnād*s with Wardān in the chain, we also believe that this particular version is simply a combination of all the other versions. See below.

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nābun min anyāb al-'arab, fa-lā arā an yajtami'a hādhā al-amr wa-laysa laka fīhi ṣawt wa-la-dhikr).[16]

In al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad's words are the exact same but 'Abdallāh's have the following sentences added to the beginning of his advice:

> The Prophet peace be upon him died and he was satisfied with you, and Abū Bakr died, may God be pleased with him, and he was satisfied with you, and 'Umar died, may God be pleased with him, and he was satisfied with you.
> (*tuwuffīya al-nabī ṣalā allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa huwa 'anka rāḍin, wa tuwuffīya abū bakr raḍiyā allāhu 'anhu wa huwa 'anka rāḍin, wa-tuiuffīya 'umar raḍiyā allāhu 'anhu wa huwa 'anka rāḍin*).[17]

In al-Y'aqūbī, the words of Muḥammad and 'Abdallāh differ:

> 'Abdallāh said to him: Oh shaykh, the Prophet of God has died and he was satisfied with you, Abu Bakr and Umar died and they were satisfied with you. For the easy life you will gain with Mu'āwiya you will spoil your religion and tomorrow end up [lying] together in Hell. Then he asked Muḥammad: what do you think? He answered: Embark on this matter, and be in it a head before you become a tail.
> (*fa-qāla lahu 'abdallāh ayyuhā al-shaykh inna rasūl allāh qubiḍa wa huwa 'anka rāḍin wa-māta abū bakr wa 'umar wa humā 'anka rāḍiyān fa-innaka in tufsid dīnaka bi-dunyā yasīra tuṣībuhā ma'a mu'āwiya fa-taḍja'āni ghadan fī al-nār, thumma qāla li-muḥammad mā tarā fa-qāla bādir hādhā al-amr fakun fīhi rā'san qabla an takūna dhanaban*).[18]

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[16]Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 100.

[17]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 560 [3253/1].

[18]Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 174.

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Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and one of Ibn 'Asākir's versions all have the same wording with minor differences. Below is a rough translation followed by the text taken from *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* the differences in both Ibn A'tham's,[19] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's texts[20] will be noted in the footnotes. Only in Naṣr b. Muzāḥim and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd do we have Muḥammad telling his father that he 'better join the rest of Quraysh before the Umayyads take over.' Ibn A'tham and Ibn 'Asākir on the other hand delete the words about the Umayyads. Also it should be noted that the ideas that are being conveyed below are similar to that of al-Ya'qūbī, except here they are much more detailed:

> 'Abdallāh said: I feel that the Prophet of God peace be upon him died and he was pleased with you, so were the two caliphs after him [meaning Abū Bakr and 'Umar]. 'Uthmān was killed and you were away from him. So stay in your house, for you will not become a caliph and you don't want to be just another member of Mu'āwiya's entourage in order that you may make small gains in this world whilst suffer a great calamity in the hereafter. Muḥammad said: I believe you are one of the elite of Quraysh and amongst its decision-makers. And if this matter finishes and you don't participate in it you will lower your status. So go to the Syrians and be amongst the leadership there and ask for the blood of 'Uthmān. For you have allowed the Umayyads to precede you in this matter.

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[19]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 382-383.

[20]Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Ḥasan Tamīm (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1963-64), vol. 1, p. 318.

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(fa-qāla 'abdallāh: arā anna nabiyya allāh ṣallā allāhu 'alayhu wa ālihi wa sallama qubiḍa wa huwa 'anka rāḍin, wa al-khalīfatān min ba'dihī[21]*, wa qutila 'uthmān wa anta 'anhu ghā'ib.*[22] *fa-aqir fī manzilika fa-lasta maj'ūlan*[23] *khalīfa,* [24] *wa lā turīd an takūn ḥāshiyyatan li-mu'āwiya 'alā dunyā qalīla , awshaka an tahlaka fatashqā fihā. wa qāla muḥammad: arā annka shaykhu quraysh wa ṣāḥibu amrihā, wa-in taṣrram hādhā al-amr wa anta fihi khāmil taṣāghara amruka, fa-ilḥaq bi-jamā'at ahl al-shām fa-kun yadan min ayādīhā, wa uṭlub bi-dam 'uthmān,*[25] *fa-innaka qad istanamta fihi ilā banī ummayya).*[26]

There are two versions of the story found in al-Dhahabī. We shall tackle the second version first, as it is very similar to the ones found in al-Ṭabarī, and Ibn al-Jawzī. Here 'Abdallāh's advice is paraphrased by the narrator and Muḥammad's advice is given in full. 'Abdallāh tells him to stay at home and Muḥammad advises him to be part of the process since he ('Amr) is one of the leaders of the Arabs. To this

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[21]Ibn A'tham adds their names, Abū Bakr and 'Umar. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 383.

[22]Ibn A'tham has the following sentence: "*wa qad wassa'a allāhu 'alayka fa-uq'ud.*" *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 383.

[23]Ibn A'tham has 'Abdullāh add the following statement, "You are not coveting the position of caliph" *(fa-innaka lā taṭma' an takūna khalīfa). Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 383.

[24]Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd ends 'Abdallāh's advice here adding the following sentence: "*wa lā tazīdu 'alā an takūna ḥāshiyatan li-mu'āwiya 'alā dunyā qalīla awshaktumā an tahlakā, fa-tastawiyā fī 'iqābihā.*" *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 318; Here also, Ibn A'tham ends 'Abdallāh's advice adding the follwoing sentence: "*wa laysa yanbaghī laka an takūna ḥāshiyata mu'āwiya 'alā dunyā qalīla zā'ila 'an ahlihā - wa al-salām.*" *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 383.

[25]Here is where the text in Ibn 'Asākir ends; *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 46, p. 168; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd also end Muḥammad's advice here. Ibn A'tham adds the following: ". . . *ibn 'affān fa-lastu aqalla min mu'āwiya.*" *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 383; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd adds: "*fa-innahu sa-yaqūm bi-dhālik banū ummayya.*" *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 318.

[26]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 34.

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'Amr tells them: 'Oh 'Abdallāh, your advice is good for my after life and Muḥammad your advice is good for my fame:'

> Muḥammad then told him: You are, a nobleman from among the nobles of the Arabs and one of their leaders. So he said to 'Abdallāh: As for you, you have advised me in what is better for me in my hereafter. And as for you, Muḥammad, you have advised me in what is better for my fame. (*fa-qāla lahu muḥammad: anta sharīf min ashrāf al-'arab, wa nābun min anyābihā, lā arā an tatakhallaf, fa-qāla li'abdallāh: ammā anta fa-asharta 'alayya bimā huwa khayrun lī fī ākhiratī, wa ammā anta yā muḥammad fa-asharta 'alayya bimā huwa anbah li-dhikrī*).[27]

The Source(s) of the Story

The first thing that struck us, when looking at the above texts, is that the earlier the version the more detailed the wording of the advisors. Thus the first example presented here, which is found in Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 598 A.H./1201 C.E.) is the least detailed and the one with the most detail is that of Naṣr Ibn Muzāḥim (d. 212 A.H./827 C.E.). Also it should be noted that the actual advice in Ibn al-Jawzī is so different from those that are in Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn A'tham, or Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd that we can argue that the use of this story is not simply to convey an 'event' but rather an idea or point of view.

We believe that the story as it first existed was the version that we have in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*. This conclusion stems not just from the age (it is our earliest source) of the narrative but also, and more importantly, from its wording. It is what the story is trying to convey rather than the authenticity of the story that is of significance. To

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[27] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 93.

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illustrate this point, we have to look at another story, that of 'Amr's slave Wardān, which usually follows immediately after the advice of the two half brothers.[28]

Our interest is in the reason behind al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Dhahabī not having this story. The story goes as follows: Amr's slave Wardān sees his master being hesitant, wavering between wanting to go to Syria or staying at his house. So Wardān, about whom there is no indication that he ever heard 'Amr's two sons' advice, tells 'Amr to stay put, for if the *'ahl al-dīn* ' win (the context indicates he means 'Alī and his supporters) 'Amr will live under the kindness of their law/religion (*'afū dīnihim*). And If the *'ahl al-dunyā*' (the context indicates he means Mu'āwiya and his supporters) win they will not be able to do without 'Amr. All the sources that carry this story do not change any of its wording. We can argue that this is the case because the historians who have this story felt it unnecessary to do so. As we said above our interest is in those who did not carry the story, which simply, could be because these historians did not have access to *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*. This could also be argued from the fact that their wording of the story of 'Amr and his two sons is very different from that of the other narratives. But this can not be the case for Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Dhahabī. They both must have had access to the story of Wardān if not from *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* then definitely from Ibn 'Asākir's work. It is more than likely they chose not to include the story of Wardān, since it would negate their version of the story of the two sons. That is, the story of Wardān re-emphasizes the notion that the story of 'Amr and his two sons is trying to convey to the reader; that Mu'āwiya's side is the evil side and 'Alī's is the good side. The only one we are not certain of is al-Ṭabarī, as to whether he had access

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[28]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 35-36; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 384-385; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 175; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 319; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 46, p. 168.

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to *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* or not.[29] It is possible, but not certain, that he had access to the story but chose not to include it for the same reasons as Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Dhahabī.

Analysis

The story, when it was taken from *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* and utilized by other historians, was edited according to that historian's view of the overall situation between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. That is, each historian words the advice from 'Abdallāh, who is supposed to give the pious person's advice, the truth if you will, according to their view of what the war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya was all about. Muḥammad is the voice of the impious past. Al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Jawzī's versions and their implication differ greatly from the other historians. The advice given by 'Abdallāh, the pious son, is extremely mu'tazilite[30] in its outlook. 'Abdallāh not only tells his father to stay home, he adds that 'Amr needs to wait until the people agree on an *imām* so that he ('Amr) may give that person his *bay'a*. This is very telling in that both al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Jawzī used the word *imām* rather than *khalīfa*--which is clearly an indication that both authors felt that there was no clear consensus as to the leadership of the community at the time of this supposed incident. This is strange coming from both al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Jawzī who are usually more consistent in their pro-'Alid stance. But

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[29]The evidence for the lack of access to *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* lies in the fact that al-Ṭabarī uses Abū Mikhnaf for almost all of his narrative on the battle of Ṣiffīn. Abū Mikhnaf's opinion is not very different from that of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, pp. 569-575 [3264/1-3273/1]; vol. 5, pp. 5-51 [3274/1-3333/1]. Abū Mikhnaf's full name is Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā (d. ca. 170 A.H.) He is known for being the historian of the Shī'īs. See, al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī: aḥad al-uṣūl al-rijāliyya*, ed. Muḥammad Jawād al-Nā'aynī (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1988), vol. 2, pp. 191-193 [no. 873]; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 4, p. 584 [no. 6776/8]. There is one story which is found in both al-Ṭabarī and Naṣr b. Muzāḥim that uses the same *isnād*; see below.

[30] We use the word mu'tazilite to refer to the movement by some of the leading companions not to support any of the sides fighting in the civil war and who remained neutral. The most famous of these men were Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar. Although the another term murji'ite could also be applied, this notion implied not judging any of the parties involved in the conflict, as opposed to not participating in the conflict itself.

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this may be a reflection of the *i'tizāl*/pious line in history, which is the belief in the necessity of the consensus of the community for the election of an *imām* (religious more than political authority being emphasized here) to lead the community. This is probably what 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr believed, or rather should have believed, since he was stylized as one of the representatives of the piety minded. And in keeping with his *'i'tizāl* ideology' he does not paint his father a picture of which side is the wrong side and which is the right side as do the other stories.[31] Another similarity between Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Ṭabarī is that the wording of Muḥammad's advice is exactly the same. Here Muḥammad is telling his father that he is amongst the elite and has a say in their decision making. Both authors do refrain from making the insinuation that 'Amr, like Mu'āwiya, was an opportunist and 'Amr must put himself in the middle of the dispute to try and get any worldly gains before the Umayyads.

Naṣr b. Muzāḥim and three other historians after him, namely al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, utilize the story in its proper place, to set the tone for the reader for the coming struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. Hence they have no problem transcribing the story of Wardān immediately after the story of the two sons. These historians inform the reader which side is good and which is bad, by cleverly disguising it in the words of 'Amr's two sons. Thus it is not the author who is preaching nor is it the protagonist or his supporters, but rather, and herein lies the mastery, it is one of the leaders and the main partner, that is 'Amr, of the leading antagonist, Mu'āwiya. The reader is thus given the paradigms for the play that is about to unfold, they are shown who is wearing the black hat and who is wearing the

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[31] Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 100; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 560 [3253/1]. For more on the impact of the piety minded on history see, Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, pp. 64-94.

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white hat.[32] This idea that 'Amr has sold his *dīn* for his *dunyā* is then repeated throughout the crisis. All four historians add to 'Abdallāh's advice the notion that if 'Amr follows Mu'āwiya he is selling his religion for this world and will end up in hell. For them 'Amr was making a choice between Good ('Alī) and Evil (Mu'āwiya), between this world (*dunyā*=Mu'āwiya) and religion (*dīn*='Alī), basically between Hell and damnation and Heaven and redemption. It is also interesting that these sources are able to insult 'Amr through his son 'Abdallāh, who tells him that if he joins Mu'āwiya he will simply be one amongst many in his entourage. This is somewhat contradictory to Muḥammad's assessment that 'Amr is one of the main leaders of the Quraysh. But it actually works well with our theory that the more important advice is that of 'Abdallāh.

The above is made even clearer when we look at possibly the latest version of the story which is found in Ibn 'Asākir and al-Dhahabī. They both have it from the same source (see Figure 2.1 at the end of the chapter)[33] 'Abdallāh tells his father:

> If you insist on joining (one group or another) then join 'Ali. 'Amr answered:[34] [I wish that your mother had had a miscarriage with you] if I join 'Alī he will tell me that I am merely one of the Muslims. And if I join Mu'āwiya he will mix me with himself and make me his partner. So he ('Amr) went to Mu'āwiya. (*qāla 'abdallāh: in kunta lā budda fā'ilan, fa-ilā 'alī: qāla in ataytu 'aliyyan qāla: innamā anta rajulun min al-muslimīn, wa in ataytu mu'āwiya yukhliṭunī bi-nafsihi, wa-yushrikunī fī amrihi, fa-atā mu'āwiya*).[35]

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[32] I use the example of a black and white hat in reference to old Westerns. In Islamic parlance the good guy would be definitely wearing a black hat while the bad guy might even have been wearing a white one. Mu'āwiya's supposed color was white. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 268.

[33] For Juwayriya b. Asmā' and 'Abd al-Wahāb, see above n. 12. For 'Urwa see above n. 13.

[34] In Ibn 'Asākir, 'Amr curses his son first telling him: "I wish your mother had had a miscarriage with you" (*thaklitaka ummuk*). *Tarīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 46, p. 166.

[35] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 93.

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This story is clearly a very different version from all of the other versions above. The most obvious difference is its structure which has 'Abdallāh's answer being immediately followed by 'Amr's answer. Another, more important difference is the wording. Here 'Abdallāh tells 'Amr to actually go to 'Alī, whereas in all the previous versions he asks him to stay at home. Also 'Amr answers 'Abdallāh by explaining to him that the reason he will not go to 'Alī is that he will be treated simply as one of the many followers of 'Alī. Instead Amr will go to Mu'āwiya where he will be treated as a partner. 'Amr's reasoning here is unlike any of the other versions, even those that are to be found in the same sources as the above story, namely Ibn 'Asākir and al-Dhahabī.

Previously we have shown that it is Naṣr b. Muzāḥim's version that is the blueprint for all the other versions. With regard to the versions found in Ibn 'Asākir and al-Dhahabī this could not be the case. Even if it was, then Ibn 'Asākir, or possibly the common source of the story, Juwayriya b. Asmā', must have understood very well the implications of the story and done some serious editing. The reason for this conclusion is the words that 'Amr supposedly used in the story. These words do not have the same extreme cosmological implications as the other versions seem to exhibit. In this version 'Amr is simply saying that 'Alī will probably treat him like any other man while on the other hand Mu'āwiya will treat him as an equal. The reason might be that 'Amr and Mu'āwiya were closer because of friendship, kinship,[36] or even because they saw eye to eye. If it was any or none of those reasons it still was not because Mu'āwiya represented this world and thus the mundane, profane, and ultimately evil world and 'Ali the exact opposite. Not at all; it simply was because 'Amr did not want to be treated like any other soldier but as an equal, and he knew that Mu'āwiya would

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[36]Although all the contenders in this conflict were from the Quraysh and thus closely related to each other, some were from the same family while others were distant cousins.

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treat him as such and 'Alī would not.[37] This story probably originated with Ibn 'Asākir, as it is a perfect example of his 'time-bomb' tactic which we discussed in our Introduction. We will see the same tactic used in the Ḥujr b. 'Adī story in the next chapter.

After establishing the framework, the cosmological struggle between good='Alī and evil=Mu'āwiya in true *Shahnamah* fashion, the story of Ṣiffīn is ready to be told. Although the reader has been properly introduced to the protagonist and the antagonist, the narrators seem to feel that the reader needs to be constantly reminded of that fact. As was discussed in the Introduction this is done quite effectively by the use of some of the same terms that were used to describe the Meccan opposition to the Prophet in the *Sīra* and Qur'ān in order to describe Mu'āwiya and his group throughout the civil war.

The Negative Depiction

One such term is *'aḥzāb'* which is used to describe Mu'āwiya and his followers especially at the battle of Ṣiffīn. The term itself was first used in the Qur'ān to describe the coalition of forces that came together to attack the Prophet at Medina in 5 A.H.[38] This term triggers the above image in the mind of pious Muslims who had some knowledge of the Qur'ān. Its use to describe Mu'āwiya is an effective way of not only denouncing him but also all those who follow him. The first time we come upon its association with Mu'āwiya is not in a depiction set in the civil war period but rather in one set during the time of the Prophet. Here the historian purposely add Mu'āwiya's

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[37]There is another story in al-Dhahabī that follows the above one and which also, but not quite to the certainty of Ibn 'Asākir's, conveys a different meaning. This second version has 'Amr, like most of the other versions, still state that 'Abdallāh's advice is good for his afterlife=*dīn*. On the other hand, Muḥammad's advice, in this version, is good for his fame=*dunyā*. In other words, although 'Amr is re-iterating that it is better for him to take 'Abdallāh's advice, he does not equate Muḥammad's advice with losing his religion but rather gaining fame. Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 93.

[38]See Qur'ān 33:20, 22; 38:11, 13; 40:30.

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name to a story in order to make him guilty by association. The mentioning of the name 'Mu'āwiya' is done in passing, as what we believe to be a 'stamp' of disapproval of Mu'āwiya by the narrator without having to develop a complicated argument. That is, a narrator, or an historian, adds Mu'āwiya's name to the story, much like Hollywood directors when they add an Arab or a Middle Eastern character to their film. There is no real significance for the Middle Easterner being there, and the lack of the character will not affect the story whatsoever; it is simply an opportunity for the director to show his disdain for that particular race, without having to create a whole movie.[39] The following story reflects this example well.

This story takes place during the Battle of the Trench (5 A.H.) This story belongs to the category of 'incidental depiction' like the Khubayb story in the second chapter. But unlike the Khubayb story this one has definite negative undertones for reasons which will be enumerated below. Suffice it to say that in this particular story Mu'āwiya is being attached to a negative incident in order to mark him with that historical 'scarlet letter' in the future.[40] We shall look at the story as it is set forth by Ibn Isḥāq, al-Wāqidī, and al-Ṭabarī. But for the mentioning of Mu'āwiya, the story is very much the same in all of the three sources: During the battle of the Trench on a very

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[39]The most recent example is the epic movie *Titanic*, where during the panic of the ship going down there is a family which is clearly Middle Eastern by their dress that are unable to find the exit because of their lack of knowledge of English. Other older examples include such films as *St. Elmo's Fire*, and *Patton*. For more see, Jack G. Shaheen, *The Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* (New York: Olive Branch Press, 2001).

[40]What we mean here is that there is no evidence that the event told in this story really took place. Nor is Mu'āwiya, let alone any of the Quraysh opposition, after their conversion, reminded of their actions against the nascent Islamic polity, by either the Prophet, Abū Bakr, 'Umar or 'Uthmān. Only with the first civil war does the importance of one's conduct during the Prophet's time become an important factor in the assessment of one's piety. It could be argued that under 'Umar the stipends was the start of such a differentiation. But we believe that even then one's past history in terms of aiding the Prophet was only translated in monetary reward and not posts in the pseudo-state.

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windy and cold night the Prophet asks Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān[41] to go and spy on the besiegers. In other versions the Prophet asks for a volunteer and since no one comes forward he picks Ḥudhayfa. Once Ḥudhayfa is amongst the enemy, Abū Sufyān senses that something is amiss so he asks everyone to make sure they know who they are sitting next to. Ḥudhayfa, cleverly, decides to take the initiative and ask first, and he thus asks, 'Who are you?' to the person on his right and the same of the person on his left:[42]

> Abū Sufyān arose and said: "Oh people of the Quraysh, let everyone know who is next to him. Ḥudhayfa said: I took the hand of the man next to me and asked, 'Who are you?' And he answered, 'So and so son of so and so. (*fa-qāma abū sufyān fa-qāla: yā ma'shar quraysh: li-yanẓur imrū'un man jalīsuhu. qāla ḥudhayfa: fa-akhdhtu bi-yad al-rajul alladhī kāna ilā janbī, fa-qultu: man anta? qāla: fulān ibn fulān*).[43]

The words '*fulān b. fulān*' are replaced by Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in al-Wāqidī:

> Abū Sufyān got up and said: 'Be careful of the spies; every man must be aware of who he is sitting next to.' He (Ḥudhayfa) said, 'I turned to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ who was on my right and said, 'Who are you?' And he said, ''Amr ibn al-Āṣ.' And I turned to Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān and said, 'Who are you?' And he said, 'Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān.'

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[41] His name was Ḥudhayfa b. Ḥisl or Ḥusbal b. Jābir b. 'Amr b. Rabī'a (d. 36 A.H.) He was a confederate of the Anṣār. He participated in Uḥud and the conquests of Hamadhān, Ray, Mesopotamia and in other engagements. He died forty days after the killing of 'Uthmān. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, pp. 468-470 [no. 1113].

[42] Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, vol. 2, pp. 231-233; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, vol. 2, pp. 488-490; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 579-581 [1483/1-1485/1].

[43] Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, vol. 2, p. 232.

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(fa-qāma abū sufyān fa-qāla: iḥdharū al-jawāsīs wa-al-'uyūn, wa-li-yanẓur kullu rajulin jalīsahu. qāla, fa-iltafattu ilā 'amr ibn al'āṣ fa-qultu: man anta? wa huwa 'an yamīnī. fa-qāla: 'amr ibn al-'āṣ. wa-iltafattu ilā mu'āwiya ibn abī sufyān fa-qultu: man anta? fa-qāla: mu'āwiya ibn abī sufyān).[44]

The problem with al-Wāqidī's version is that there is no explicit *isnād* to the story, he simply has '*wa qālū*,' they said, as to who those 'who said' are we can only conjecture by reading back into the text.[45] Yet this would be at best a haphazard guess.[46] Thus we are unable to analyze the *isnād*, much the same way as we did in the corresponding example in Chapter two. Although al-Wāqidī is the only historian who has the name of Mu'āwiya and 'Amr in the main text, we are directed by the editors of the *Sīra* to others who may have done the same.

In a footnote of the story as it is written in the *Sīra* the editors refer us to *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*. The editors point out that it is in *Sharḥ al-mawāhib* that the words '*fulān bin fulān* ' are replaced by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān.[47] Yet in *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, al-Zurqānī (henceforth Z1), using the same *isnād* used by both al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Isḥāq (Muḥammad b. Isḥaq from Yazīd b. Ziyād[48] from Muḥammad b.

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[44]Al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, vol. 2, p. 489.

[45]For more on al-Wāqidī's use of collective *isnād* see Stefan Leder, "The Literary Use of the Khabar: A Basic Form of Historical Writing," *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East: Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), pp. 277-315.

[46]The Battle of the Trench is an extremely important and complex story. It is replete with many important actions and sayings of the Prophet that have implications in varied Islamic fields. Thus the narrative is constantly interrupted with different narrations of the Prophet's actions at different points of the campaign. Al-Wāqidī starts the story telling us that a great many--he mentions twenty seven *muḥaddithūn* by name--have transmitted to him the story of the Battle of the Trench. Al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, vol. 2, p. 441.

[47]Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, vol. 2, p. 232. See above.

[48]He is Yazīd b. Ziyād or Abī Ziyād al-Madanī, a *mawlā* of 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh al-Makhzūmī. al-Mizzī does not have a death date for him. It is also interesting to note that Yazīd

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Ka'b al-Quraẓī),[49] does not mention Mu'āwiya or 'Amr; instead he also has it as *'fulān bin fulān.'*[50] Al-Zurqānī refers us to two other sources, namely al-Bayhaqī and Abū Nu'aym, where he says the words *'fulān bin fulān'* are replaced with Mu'āwiya and 'Amr.[51]

There are two books by al-Bayhaqī where this story is mentioned. The first is in *al-Sunan al-kubrā* (henceforth B=S1). Although the story retains much of the same elements as the above examples, not only is there no mention of either 'Amr or Mu'āwiya, there is not even the mention of the situation wherein Abū Sufyān asks his followers to make sure they know who is sitting next to them. Instead the narrator concentrates on the fact that Abū Ḥudhayfa wanted to kill Abū Sufyān but holds himself from doing so upon remembering the Prophet's orders.[52] The *isnād* is also different; being from the famous traditionalist al-A'mash.[53]

The second book is *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*. In this work there are five versions of the story (henceforth B=D1-5). In none of these is there mention of Mu'āwiya or

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transmitted a *ḥadīth* from Mu'āwiya on the authority of the Prophet. Al-Mizzī, vol. 32, pp.132-134 [no. 6989].

[49] He is Muḥammad b. Ka'b b. Ḥayyān b. Sulaym b. Asad al-Quraẓī. (d. 117 [the most likely], 118, 119, 120, or 129). He is considered a *tābi'ī*. His father was one of the young men of Banū Qurayẓa who was too young to be executed so was enslaved. Al-Mizzī, vol. 26. pp. 340-348 [no. 5573]. His existence certainly answers some of those skeptics on the existence of the Banū Qurayẓa.

[50] Muḥammad al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-'allāma al-Zurqānī 'alā al-mawāhib al-laduniyya bi-al-minaḥ al-Muḥammadiyya lil-'alāma al-Qasṭalānī*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khālidī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1996), vol. 3, pp. 49-50.

[51] Muḥammad al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-'alāma al-Zurqānī*, p. 52.

[52] Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā* (Ḥaydarābād: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmaniyya, 1937), vol. 9, pp. 148-149: *"fa-waḍa'tu sahmī fī kayd qawsī wa ardatu an armiyahu thuma dhakartu qawl rasūl allāh ṣalā allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama."* p. 148.

[53] His full name is Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Asadī al-Kāhilī (b. 61/d. 147 or 148 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 12, pp. 76-91 [no. 2570].

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'Amr. The first story, B=D1, is taken from the *Maghāzī* of Mūsā b. 'Uqba.[54] Here the story, much like most of the other examples, has Abū Sufyān warning his followers to be aware of the persons sitting next to them.[55] The second story, B=D2, is identical to B=S1in both *isnād*[56] and *matn*. In the third story, B=D3, there is the mention of Ḥudhayfa taking the hand of the person on his right and then the hand of the person on his left, but he does not ask who they are.[57] In the fourth version, B=D4, the story is very similar to the B=D2, the only difference being that Ḥudhayfa mentions seeing the besiegers move out.[58] The fifth and final version, B=D5, has the biggest differences from all the above versions. Among the differences is that the *isnād* does not go back to Ḥudhayfa himself but, instead, to Zayd b. Aslam, the *mawlā* of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[59] The second difference is that it is Abū Bakr who suggests to the Prophet to send Ḥudhayfa to spy on the besiegers.[60] The third difference is that Abū Sufyān is

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[54]His full name is Mūsā b. 'Uqba b. Abī 'Ayyāsh al-Asadī al-Miṭrafī (d. 141 or 142 A.H.). He was a *mawlā* of the Zubayrid House. Al-Mizzī, vol. 29, pp. 115-122 [no. 6282].

[55]Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwa wa-ma'rifat aḥwāl ṣāḥib al-shari'a*, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī Qal'ajī (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'illmiyya, 1985), vol. 3, p. 406. The text reads: *"fa-qabaḍa ḥudhayfa 'alā yad rajul 'an yaminihi, fa-qāl: man anta? qala: anā fulān, wa qabaḍa 'alā yad rajul 'an yasārih, qala: man anta? qala: ana fulān, wa badarahum bi-al-masā'la khashyata an yaftanū lahu."*

[56]The similarity lies in the last four names which are: Jarīr from al-A'mash from Ibrāhim al-Taymī from his father. Jarīr is probably Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid b. Qurṭ al-Ḍabbī (b. 109/110 A.H. d. 188 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 4, pp. 540-551 [no. 918]; Ibrāhīm al-Taymī's full name is: Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd b. Sharīk al-Taymī (d. 92 A.H.). He was sent to prison in a case of mistaken identity by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf where he died, al-Mizzī, vol. 2, pp. 232-233 [no. 264]. His father was Yazīd b. Sharīk b. Ṭāriq al-Taymī. Al-Mizzī, vol. 32, pp. 160-161 [no. 7003].

[57]Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, vol. 3, pp.450-451. The exact wording is: *"fa-ḍarbtu bi-yadī 'alā alladhī 'an yaminī fa-akhdhta bi-yadih, thuma ḍarabtu bi-yadī 'alā alladhī 'an yasārī fa-akhdhtu bi-yadih, fa-kunta fihum hunnayatan,"* p. 451.

[58]Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, vol. 3, pp. 451-452.

[59]His full name is Zayd b. Aslam al-Qurashī (d. 136 A.H.). Al-Mizzī, vol. 10, pp. 12-18 [no. 2088].

[60]Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, vol. 3, p. 454.

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only mentioned at the end of the story mounting his camel heading home.[61] In all of the above versions, even when they had different *isnāds*, Mu'āwiya's name is nowhere to be found.

Abū Nu'aym's book is also entitled *Dalā'il al-nubuwa*. It has the story (henceforth AN1) with a slightly different *isnād* from the B=S1 and B=D2. Instead of al-A'mash, that space in the chain of transmission is occupied by one Abū Sa'd al-Baqqāl.[62] In this version of the story, rather than Abū Sufyān being the one who warns the people of a possible spy, the narrator does not give us a name; he simply has "A man of the group said" (*fa-qāla rajul min al-qawm*).[63] He also does not have the name of Mu'āwiya, but interestingly, he does give us the name of the clan which our 'fulān' is from; it is Hawāzin. This certainly eliminates the possibility of his being Mu'āwiya.[64]

Other than al-Wāqidī, in all of the above examples there were none that had the name of Mu'āwiya or 'Amr in them. We must conclude then that either al-Wāqidī or the narrators that he used must have added the name of Mu'āwiya to the story. The reason we say "added" is that there is no reason for al-Wāqidī to have Mu'āwiya in the story since he does not add to or detract from the essential nature of the story. Unlike in the first story we looked at in Chapter two, Mu'āwiya's presence in this one is definitely a

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[61] Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, vol. 3, p. 455.

[62] He is Sa'īd b. al-Marzubān al-'Absī (d. ca. 140 A.H.). Al-Mizzī, vol. 11, pp. 52-56 [no. 2351]. What is interesting is that although he was a *mawlā* of Ḥudhayfa, Abū Nu'aym is the only author that uses his *isnād*.

[63] Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī. *Dalā'il al-nubuwa*, eds. Muḥammad Rawwās Qal'ajī and 'Abd al-Barr 'Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Nifā'is, 1986), vol. 2, p. 501.

[64] Al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwa*, p. 501. The text reads: "*fa-akhdhtu bi-yad jalīsī fa-qultu man anta? fa-qāla: subḥāna allāh mā ta'rafnī? anā fulān fa-idhā rajulun min hawāzin*," p. 501. Hawāzin was one of the tribes, along with Thaqīf, that the Prophet fought with the Meccans, at the Battle of Ḥunayn.

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blemish on his character. Moreover as the story in all its different versions has shown, in both al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan* and in his *Dalā'il*, it's aim is the absolute trust and obedience that Ḥudhayfa had in the Prophet. First, by going to the enemy's camp and, secondly by not killing their arch enemy Abū Sufyān.[65] We therefore may conclude that Mu'āwiya's name is inserted into this story simply to attach his name to the term *aḥzāb*, the enemy coalition at the battle of the Trench.[66] The insertion of Mu'āwiya in the story greatly enhances and cements the parallelism that is to be drawn between the *aḥzāb* fighting the Prophet at the battle of the Trench and those fighting 'Alī at Ṣiffīn. This is done by having Mu'āwiya's and some of his followers'[67] names show up in the battle of the Trench. Once this is done, the labeling of Mu'āwiya and his followers at Ṣiffīn as the *aḥzāb* does not seem so outlandish to the reader especially if Mu'āwiya himself was shown to have been part of the original *aḥzāb*. Thus in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* we have several prominent characters use the term *aḥzāb* to describe Mu'āwiya and his followers.[68]

We move now to the depiction of Mu'āwiya as a coward. Here, in contrast to the previous chapter, we shall find Mu'āwiya depicted as a cowardly commander at the battle of Ṣiffīn. Not only is he stylized so, but the sources have him even admitting to being afraid and wanting to flee in the heat of battle.

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[65]Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 9, pp. 148-149; Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, vol. 3, pp. 406-407, 449-455.

[66]The whole incident is immortalized in the Qur'ān 33: 9-27.

[67]Al-Bayhaqī tells us that according to Mūsā b. 'Uqba, amongst those who participated with the Quraysh at the Battle of the Trench were the tribe of the Banū Sulaym headed by Abū al-A'war. *Al-Dalā'il*, vol. 3, p. 399. This, of course, is a mistake. The leader of the Banū Sulaym at that time was Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams, the father of Abū al-A'war. The latter was one of Mu'āwiya's commanders at Ṣiffīn. Thus it is easy to understand the ease with which names from one campaign can be attached to another. On the father at the Battle of the Trench, see al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, vol. 2, p. 443; On the son at Ṣiffīn, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 569 [3265/1].

[68]See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 93, 164, 238; see also, Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, pp. 281, 257.

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The Depiction as a Coward

Although Mu'āwiya's actions throughout the first civil war are depicted by the sources in a cowardly fashion[69] there is one incident which stands out from the rest; it is the one that occurs during the fighting at Ṣiffīn. The incident in a nutshell goes as follows: the battle is in full swing and al-Ashtar and his men are getting ever closer to the center of the Syrian army, where Mu'āwiya is standing. As the Iraqi forces get closer Mu'āwiya, fearing defeat, decides to flee. As he mounts his horse he remembers the verses of one 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba,[70] which give him enough courage to stand his ground.[71] The wording of the poem is of no import to us.[72] What is important is the circumstance in which the poem was recalled by Mu'āwiya. It should be mentioned

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[69]Madelung is certainly one scholar who has taken this depiction to be absolute. See his *The Succession to Muḥammad*, pp. 114-385. Although he does not specify the incident that we have chosen he does make mention of it in a footnote. (Ibid., n. 352 p. 234). Madelung, as we have mentioned in the Introduction, has taken to heart the historical depiction of the civil war Mu'āwiya, so much, that his assessment of Mu'āwiya is as if he and Mu'āwiya were old personal enemies: "Personally a coward and lacking military competence, Mu'āwiya had an instinctive distrust of his own capable and popular military leaders who might pose a threat to his power." p. 198.

[70]His name is 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Zayd Mannā b. 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Agharr b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. He was a pre-Islamic poet and considered by some as one of the kings of the Khazraj. He also played a prominent role in the Khazraj's wars against their rivals the Aws. For further on his poetry and life see al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ dīwān al-Ḥamāsa* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1991), vol. 3, pp. 1632-1635; 'Azīz Fawwāl Bābatī, *Mu'jam al-shu'arā' al-jāhiliyyīn* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1998), pp. 234-236; Muṭā' Ṣaffadī and Īliyya Ḥāwī, *Mawsū'at al-shī'r al-'Arabī*, ed. Aḥmad Qudāma (Beirut: Khayyāṭ lil-Kutub wa-al-Nashr, 1974), vol. 4, pp. 399-405. This last source is quite interesting in that the author has a story behind every poem attributed to Ibn al-Iṭnāba except for ours. For this particular one the author simply states that this was the poem that Mu'āwiya said at Ṣiffīn.

[71]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 395; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 24 [3300/1]; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 59, pp. 137-138; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 118; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, pp. 653-654; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūṭ, 2nd edition (Beirut: Mu'assassit al-Risāla, 1982), vol. 3, p. 142; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 276.

[72]For a translation of the poem, see al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, vol.17, The First Civil War*, trans. G. R. Hawting (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), p. 47.

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that there are a number of literary works[73] which use the story to illustrate the importance of learning poetry.[74] But we shall forego the literary sources for the historical ones, since our focus is on how the incident, and by extension Mu'āwiya, is depicted by these sources.

This story is made up of four significant elements. The first is the placement of the story. For most narratives this is not important, but for one, al-Ya'qūbī, the place of the story plays a pivotal role in the Ṣiffīn saga. The second element is the identity of the person, if anyone, who attacked Mu'āwiya when he decided to flee. The third element is what it was that kept Mu'āwiya from fleeing, the main one being the remembering of the poem. The fourth and final element deals with the result, if any, of Mu'āwiya's holding his ground. How this affects or does not affect the whole battle is an essential part of this element. We have also divided our different versions into five different categories, that depend on how the narrative utilizes the above elements. A number of sources--Ibn Sa'd, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, al-Balādhurī, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī and al-Mas'ūdī--do not mention the incident. This is odd, especially in the case of Ibn A'tham who practically has transcribed the whole book of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim in his section on the battle of Ṣiffīn.[75] The text even lacks any mention of Mu'āwiya's being

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[73] Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashī, *Jamharat ash'ār al-'Arab fī al-jāhiliyya wa-al-Islām*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hāshimī (Riyāḍ: Jāmi'at al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd al-Islāmiyya, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 159-160; Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, *al-'Umda fī maḥāsin al-shi'r wa adabihī wa-naqdihī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, 1963-64), vol. 1, p. 39.

[74] For the best illustration of the 'dual' use of this poem, see Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1925). In volume 1, p. 126 we have Mu'āwiya's story and the poem in the Chapter on War under the subtitle 'Patience and the inciting of people at the time of combat.' On the other hand, in volume 2, p. 193 we have the same poem with no mentioning of Mu'āwiya or the story. This time the chapter's heading is 'Stanzas that have no equal' with the subheading 'On Patience.' See also, Fārūq Aslīm b. Aḥmad, *Dīwān Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1996), Where he points out that not only did the poem have an impact on Mu'āwiya but it had an impact on the political history of the Arabs. pp. 25-26.

[75] See: Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, all of vol. 3, and pp. 1-34 of vol. 4.

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afraid. We shall come back to Ibn A'tham at the end of this section; first we need to look at the most prevalent depiction of the cowardly Mu'āwiya, the poem version.

The Poem Version

The earliest rendition of the poem story is in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, which has two versions. Even though there is only one *isnād* (see Figure 2.4 found at the end of this chapter)[76] for both stories there is still a difference between them. The difference lies in the second element, which is unclear in the first story and clear in the second. We are referring to the reason behind Mu'āwiya's cowardly act. In the first story we are simply told that 'Alī, upon the advice of one of his lieutenants, removed his wounded to the rear of the combatants. 'Alī, after the wounded were removed, wanted to attack the Syrians, upon which Mu'āwiya takes the reins of his horse, wanting to escape, but instead decides to stay upon remembering the poem of Ibn al-Iṭnāba.[77] There are no immediate consequences to Mu'āwiya's action, or rather inaction. Thus we are left uncertain as to whether 'Alī actually did attack the Syrians after he removed the wounded. We are also unclear why Mu'āwiya would be afraid if 'Alī did not attack. If indeed 'Alī did attack and Mu'āwiya stood his ground then does that mean that Mu'āwiya was successful in repulsing 'Alī's attack? Instead our narrative moves on, and enumerates the sayings of 'Alī and other personalities before the start of combat.[78]

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[76]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 394. Naṣr has it from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, the famous author of the *Sīra* (on him see above n. 12) who has it from 'Abdallāh b. Abī Yaḥyā whose full name is, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Yaḥyā who is better known as Saḥbal (d. 174 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 16, pp. 100-102 [no. 3551]; He transmitted from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'a b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr b. Salama al-Lakhmī (d. 68 A.H.) Some sources have him dying at the battle of al-Ḥarra, 63 A.H. He was born during the Prophet's lifetime. He is considered a *tābi'ī* in the first *ṭabaqa* of the people of Medīna. Al-Mizzī, vol. 17, pp. 46-48 [no. 3789]; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 433 [no. 3279].

[77]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 394-395. The exact words are: "*wa aṣbaḥa 'alī fa-raḥḥala al-nās wa huwa yurīd an yanzil 'alā ahl al-shām fī 'askarihim*"

[78]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 395. Naṣr states that 'Alī praises God first and then recites a line of poetry. On the other hand, most of the other combatants simply recite a poem.

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In the second story it is more definite that 'Alī himself, with 10,000 to 12,000 of this followers, attacked and was directly responsible for Mu'āwiya's cowardice. The narrative begins with 'Alī exchanging the Prophet's horse for the Prophet's mule, and donning the Prophet's black turban. 'Alī then attacks the heart of the Syrian army. 'Alī and his men are able to push through every Syrian column until they came upon Mu'āwiya's tent. At this point Mu'āwiya calls for his horse and then he remembers the poem of Ibn al-Iṭnāba.[79] After deciding to stay, Mu'āwiya asks for help from the 'Akk and the Ash'ar tribes. After an intense battle the two armies, the Syrians and the Iraqis, disengage. The narrative is not explicit as to the aftermath of this attack. Despite that we can surmise that 'Alī's attack was unsuccessful because the battles at Ṣiffīn continued after this incident. There are a number of narratives that repeat Naṣr b. Muzāḥim's versions; we will look at them next.

Naṣr b. Muzāḥim's first story is repeated by Ibn al-Jawzī, and his second is repeated by both Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and Ibn Kathīr.[80] Ibn al-Jawzī does not have an *isnād*, he simply states, "The scholars of history said" (*qāla 'ulamā' al-siyar*).[81] On the other hand Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd tells us his source, which surprisingly is other than Naṣr b. Muzāḥim.[82] We find this surprising since both stories are identical but for the

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[79]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 403-404.

[80]Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 118; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 430; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 276.

[81]Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 118.

[82]The reason this is unusual is that Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, like Ibn A'tham, relies heavily on Naṣr b. Muzāḥim for his reporting on the battle of Ṣiffīn. On the other hand, the source for Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 429, is Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Kisā'ī, better known as Ibn Dīzīl (d. 281 A.H.). He is very well known for his many transmissions of *ḥadīth*. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 6, pp. 387-392 [no. 392]; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 13, pp. 184-192 [no. 107]; Ibn Kathīr also uses the report of Ibn Dīzīl although he does not seem to believe his version, see below.

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ending.[83]

Since Ibn al-Athīr's narrative is exactly the same as that of al-Ṭabarī, except for the ending,[84] we shall confine ourselves to al-Ṭabarī. Although the transmitters in al-Ṭabarī's *isnād* are different from those of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, both go back to a participant in the battle. In Naṣr b. Muzāḥim's narrative it is 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib,[85] in al-Ṭabarī it is al-Ashtar.[86] Another important difference is in who was leading the charge against the Syrians. Al-Ṭabarī has it be al-Ashtar instead of 'Alī. Unlike the second story in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, al-Ṭabarī's narrative has the 'Akk and the Ash'ar already with Mu'āwiya when the Iraqīs attack. We are told that the above two tribes abandon their position because of the onslaught of al-Ashtar with Hamdān and Kinda. Al-Ashtar keeps advancing, breaking through one column after another, four in all, until he reaches the fifth, which is the last one before Mu'āwiya. It is at this point that Mu'āwiya calls for his horse in order to flee but instead decides to stay when he remembers the poem of Ibn al-Iṭnāba.[87] We are not told what the implications of

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[83]Unlike the other narratives in this section, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd gives a time frame for the story. He tells us that according to Ibrāhīm b. Dīzīl this whole incident took place in the day of *harīr*, and then afterwards the copies of the Qur'ān were lifted: "*qala ibrāhīm b. dīzīl: fa-kāna dhālik yawma al-harīr, thuma rufi'at al-maṣāḥif ba'dah.*" Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 430. For more see below.

[84]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, pp. 652-654. Ibn al-Athīr continues the narrative and has 'Amr turn to Mu'āwiya and say, "Today patience and tomorrow glory" (*al-yawma ṣabr wa ghadan fakhr*). This line occurs also in a number of narratives but it is attributed there to Mu'āwiya, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 430; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 276.

[85]He is 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'a allready mentioned, see above, n. 79.

[86]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 22 [3298/1]. Al-Ṭabarī has a very short *isnād* that goes back to an unnamed *mawlā* of al-Ashtar, which means that he got it from al-Ashtar or was with him at the battle. The other names in the *isnād* are Abū Mikhnaf on whom see above n. 32. He transmitted from Fuḍayl b. Khadīj or Ḥudayj according to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī and al-Dhahabī. He is not well known and those who transmit *ḥadīth* from him are to be discarded. He transmitted from an unnamed *mawlā of* al-Ashtar, which he is known to have done. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 4, p. 529 [no. 6559/88]; Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 3, p. 361 [no. 6766].

[87]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 24 [3300/1].

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Mu'āwiya's staying were. The narrative stops abruptly and al-Ṭabarī moves on to his next story. This is typical of the poem version as illustrated very well by our narrative from Ibn 'Asākir.

Ibn 'Asākir has the following on this incident: "Mu'āwiya said: I had put my leg in the stirrup, and I had intended to flee the battle of Ṣiffīn, and the only thing that prevented me was the saying of Ibn al-Iṭnāba where he says" (*qala mu'āwiya: laqad waḍ'atu rijlī fī al-rikāb, wa hamamtu yawm ṣiffīn bi-al-hazīma fa-mā mana'anī illā qawl ibn al-iṭnāba ḥaythu yaqūl*).[88] This is the only report of the incident. There is no mention in Ibn 'Asākir's narrative of the reasons behind Mu'āwiya's momentary cowardice. Nor do we get any information on or before the above incident that clarifies the historical setting. We shall discuss the implications of the above later in our conclusion, but first we need to look at the version that has both a poem and a person as the reason for Mu'āwiya's change of heart.

The Poem/Man Version

We have only been able to find one version in which it is not only the recollection of the poem of Ibn al-Iṭnāba but an actual person who gives Mu'āwiya the courage to stay. This version is in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's *al-Baṣā'ir wa al-dhakhā'ir*. We are not given an *isnād*; the story simply begins with,

> A man stood up and asked Mu'āwiya in the audience hall: O Commander of the Faithful, I am owed protection. Mu'āwiya asked: What is it? The man answered: I came near to your mount at Ṣiffīn when you had brought it close in order to be defeated, and the Iraqis saw an opportunity for victory, so I said to

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[88] Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 59, p. 137.

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you: By God! had Hind daughter of 'Utba been in your place she would not have fled, and she would have chosen a noble death or lived a blameless life. Where are you going to escape to and the Arabs have given you command of the reins of their leadership? So you told me: Lower your voice, you motherless, and you stood your ground and your soldiers returned to you and you recited the poem of 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba.

(*waqafa rajul 'alā mu'āwiya wa huwa fī majlis al-'āmma fa-qāla: yā amīr al-mū'minīn, inna lī ḥurma, qāla: mā hī? qāla: danawtu min rikābika yawm ṣiffīn wa qad qarubta li-tanhazim, wa ra'ā ahlu al-'irāq al-fatḥa wa al-ẓafar, fa-qultu laka: wallāhi law kānat hind bint 'utba makānaka mā harabat, wa ikhtārat an tamūta karima aw ta'īsha ḥamīda; ayna tahrubu wa qad qalladatka al-'arabu azimmata umūrihā, wa a'ṭawka qīyād al-a'inna? fa-qulta lī: ikhfiḍ ṣawtaka lā umma laka, thumma thabatta wa thābat ḥumātuka ilayka, wa tamathalta bi-qawl 'amr bin al-iṭnāba*).[89]

Unfortunately we cannot ascertain Abū Ḥayyān's source. We are fairly certain that it is a unique source since it is the only text which has Mu'āwiya being compared to his mother. One characteristic of the story that is similar to the one found in al-Ṭabarī is the action of the soldiers, rallying around Mu'āwiya and holding their ground. Although it is the only source that combines the man and the poem together, there is another source that has just the mysterious man saving Mu'āwiya from ignominy.

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[89] Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir wa-al-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1988), vol. 9, pp. 174-175.

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No Poem/Man Version

This version is only found in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd. Like the poem version in the same source this is also from Ibn Dīzīl by way of Ibn 'Abbās.[90] Here the story tells us that Mu'āwiya, when the fighting was very intense, asked for a thin mare of his in order to flee, until a man from the Iraqīs came to him and told him that he had left 'Alī's followers in the same state as the pilgrims on their last night at Minā, meaning in a state of disarray. Upon hearing this Mu'āwiya decides to stay. Ibn 'Abbās and those around Mu'āwiya asked him to tell them the name of that Iraqi but he refused.[91] Here unlike any of the above versions there is no poem. Even though it is like the version in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, in that there is a man who helps Mu'āwiya, in all other aspects it is quite different. First we are told the place the man is from, Irāq. Second, and the most interesting aspect of the whole story is the reason for Mu'āwiya holding his ground, namely that the Irāqīs were 'leaving' their positions, as the pilgrims do after the last day of the pilgrimage. Here we are not told why the Irāqīs are in such a state. The narrative is too confused afterwards for us to understand what occurred after the above incident. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has here the letters that went back and fourth between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya and 'Amr. The letters convey the notion that the copies of the Qur'ān had been raised already, as Mu'āwiya, amongst other things, tells 'Alī: "Let two acceptable

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[90]Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 431. There are two branches the first is from Ibrāhīm who is Ibn Dīzīl, see above n. 85. The second is from Abū 'Abdallāh al-Makkī who is not known. He transmitted a spurious *ḥadīth*, also on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, on the subject of eating with one's fingers. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 7, p. 74 [no. 709]. He transmitted from Sufyān b. 'Āṣim b. Kulayb al-Ḥārithī, who is not known. It is possible but doubtful that his father, from whom he transmitted, might be 'Āṣim b. Kulayb al-Jarmī al-Kūfī (d. 137 A.H.). Al-Dahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 2, p. 356 [no. 4064]. The father transmitted from 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās who transmitted from Mu'āwiya himself.

[91]Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 431. The text reads: "*innahu kāna yawma'idhin qad qarraba ilayh farasan lahu unthā, ba'īdat al-baṭn min al-arḍ, li-yahruba 'alayhā; ḥattā atāhu ātin min ahl al-'īrāq, fa-qāl lahu: innī tarktu aṣḥāb 'alī fī mithli laylat al-ṣadr min minā, fa-aqmt, qāla: fa-qulnā lahu: fa-akhbirnā man huwa dhālik al-rajul? fa-abā wa qāla: lā akhbirkum man huwa.*"

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judges....judge between me and you, one from your followers and one from mine, so that they may judge between us according to what God has revealed."[92] 'Alī in his reply has the following sentence, "And you have called me to the judgment of the Qur'ān."[93] By implication, then, the raising of the copies of the Qur'ān came soon after the above incident, or maybe during the incident, although the latter would mean that Mu'āwiya had no idea that the raising of the copies of the Qur'ān was about to occur, or even that it had taken place. There will be more on this below; but first we will take a look at our next version where there is also no poem but neither is there any man.

No Poem and no Man Version

This version which comes from al-Ya'qūbī, not only does not have a poem or a man saving Mu'āwiya; it is the only story which is situated 'logically'[94] in the narrative. Al-Ya'qūbī is the only historian that has the reason why Mu'āwiya did not run as being 'Amr's ploy of the raising the copies of the Qur'ān.

> And 'Alī's followers , peace be upon him, attacked Mu'āwiya's followers very intensely to the point that they were on top of him, so Mu'āwiya asked for his horse to escape on it, [upon which] 'Amr asked him: 'Where to?' Mu'āwiya answered: 'You have seen what has happened, what do you have? 'Amr answered: 'There is but one last trick, that you raise the copies of the Qur'ān

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[92]Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 431. The text reads: "*an nuḥakkim baynī wa baynakum ḥakamayn mardiyyayn, aḥaduhumā min aṣḥābī, wa al-ākhar min aṣḥābika, fa-yaḥkumāni baynanā bimā anzal allāh.*"

[93]Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 432. The text reads: "*thuma innaka qad da'awtanī ilā ḥukm al-qur'ān.*"

[94]The reason for the quotes is that the word logical does not imply that we feel that the story is true or that al-Ya'qūbī situates it well within the narrative. We are only saying that if logic dictated the way the events should unfold, it would be placed as it is in al-Ya'qūbī.

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and ask them to what is in it, in that way you will be able to stop them, and break their strength, and weaken them.

(*wa zaḥafa aṣḥābu 'alī, 'alayhi al-salām, wa ẓahrū 'alā aṣḥāb mu'āwiya ẓuhūran shadīdan ḥattā laṣiqū bihi, fa-da'ā mu'āwiya bi-farasihi li-yanjuwa 'alayhi fa-qāla lahu 'amr ibn al-'āṣ: ilā ayn? qāla: qad nazal mā tarā fa-mā 'indaka? qāla: lam yabqa illā ḥila wāḥida an tarfa' al-maṣāḥif fa-tad'ūhum ilā mā fihā fa-tastakiffahum wa taksir min ḥaddihim wa tafutta fī a'ḍādihim*).[95]

This version certainly makes more sense than any of the above versions. It is the only one where a fourth element, the result of Mu'āwiya's staying, has its place. What we mean here is that the way the narrative is set up, it was 'Amr's ploy that kept Mu'āwiya from fleeing. Mu'āwiya was not brave and stood his ground like all the rest but, instead, the copies of the Qur'ān were raised and the battle was over--a most damning assessment of Mu'āwiya! Thus in al-Ya'qūbī's eyes Mu'āwiya remains a coward. He does not, as in all of the above versions, with the possible exception of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's, decide to stay because of new-found courage. Rather, it is the circumstance and not his heart that changes his mind. There is yet another version which not only lacks a man, or 'Amr's ploy, to help Mu'āwiya get over his cowardice; it even lacks Mu'āwiya.

Poem, no man and no Mu'āwiya Version

Ibn Kathīr has two versions of the poem, one which he does not believe, attributed to Mu'āwiya, and another, which he does believe, attributed to al-Ashtar. Ibn Kathīr does not have an *isnād* for the story with al-Asthar, although he does have

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[95]Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, pp. 177-178.

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an *isnād* for the story with Mu'āwiya.[96] Like the other poem versions, Ibn Kathīr tells us that it was al-Ashtar who was attacking Mu'āwiya and the Syrians. He penetrated four columns and when he got to the fifth column, where Mu'āwiya was, the fighting became so intense that he (al-Ashtar) became so terrified that he wanted to flee. Instead, he remembered the poem of Ibn al-Iṭnāba, and stood his ground.[97] Although al-Ashtar stood his ground, as in the rest of the poem narratives, the fourth element is virtually non-existent. We are not told what the consequences of al-Ashtar standing his ground were. Was he able to reach Mu'āwiya or was he beaten back? This is an important question that is not answered by any of the poem versions, whether it is Mu'āwiya or al-Ashtar who remembered Ibn al-Iṭnāba's poem.

One of the first things we observe about the above story is that the poem is not only the central theme; it is the story itself. This observation stems from the fact that in the poem version the first element and the fourth element are not essential at all. In all of our narratives Mu'āwiya's attempt to flee is placed at no particular point of the narrative. The poem seems to be the story. This is brought home in Ibn Kathīr's version with al-Ashtar reciting the poem instead of Mu'āwiya. The fact that al-Ashtar or Mu'āwiya recalled the poem does not affect the story whatsoever. Even the circumstances behind the remembering of the poem remain the same in both stories.[98] This might explain the poem version missing from Ibn A'tham's narrative. Ibn A'tham, who does collate the data that he has collected in order to make his overall

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[96]As we said above, the story with Mu'āwiya is from Ibn Dīzīl like that in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd. But Ibn Kathīr is weary of this version, as he points out: "And what is strange is that Ibn Dīzīl related in his book that " (*wa min al-'ajab anna ibn dīzīl rawā fī kitābihi anna*). *Al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 276.

[97]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 276.

[98]Both stories as presented in Ibn Kathīr and the other sources have the same circumstances: Mu'āwiya is surrounded by the five columns; al-Ashtar or 'Alī cuts through four of the columns; and upon reaching the fifth column the poem is remembered by one of the people present.

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narrative flow smoothly, could not place the poem. As we have pointed out above, the story simply appears and disappears with no impact on the overall narrative. This is true of the poem version, but not for either of the man/no poem or the no poem/no man version. Let us first understand the no poem and no man version.

We cannot place the no poem and no man version, which is only found in al-Ya'qūbī's narrative, at any point in the narrative of the battle of Ṣiffīn. Here, Mu'āwiya's need for flight was the cause of 'Amr's trick with the Qur'ān. That is, the reason why the copies of the Qur'ān were hoisted was that the Syrians were being defeated and Mu'āwiya was about to flee. Yet this story is so well-placed in the narrative that it arouses our suspicion. The reason we are somewhat skeptical is that had the raising of the copies of the Qur'ān been the direct result of Mu'āwiya's fright, it would have been used in all of our narratives to explain that action. More so because all of the narratives have the incident of the raising of the copies of the Qur'ān but only al-Ya'qūbī, and possibly Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, have the raising of the copies of the Qur'ān follow immediately after Mu'āwiya's attempt at flight.

The no poem/man version that we have presented from Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd is quite problematic. Here Mu'āwiya is still depicted as a coward of sorts since he wants to flee, yet there is the peculiar report of the stranger. It is peculiar because it describes the Iraqis in a state that is usually reserved, by all the narratives, to the period after the raising of the copies of the Qur'ān. This fact is even more compounded by the next set of narrations, the letters between the leaders of the conflict, which talk about the arbitration and the utilization of the Qur'ān for that very purpose.

Whether this incident took place or not is not pivotal to most of the narratives discussed above. As we said before, the importance lies not in the circumstances surrounding the poem but the power of this genre. This is very well illustrated by the fact that the literary works, cited above, do not need to give us a very detailed

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contextualization of the story. In fact, only one or two sentences are needed to tell us that Mu'āwiya, when he was afraid at Ṣiffīn, remembered the words of Ibn al-Iṭnāba. This point is illustrated perfectly in the poem version found in Ibn 'Asākir. Here there is very little detail. Mu'āwiya tells us that he was about to flee at Ṣiffīn when he remembered the poem of Ibn al-Iṭnāba, nothing more, nothing less.[99] We are not told at which point this occurred in the battle, nor are we told what happened after Mu'āwiya stood his ground. And in fact these bits of information are superfluous, as illustrated by the two versions found in our earliest source, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*. The two could be placed anywhere in the narrative without affecting the overall picture of the battle. Our next example is the depiction of Mu'āwiya in his discussion with 'Alī's men on the civil war.

The Ineloquent, Insubordinate Governor

This particular incident takes place before the above one in the chronology of the battle at Ṣiffīn. These negotiations are supposed to have taken place before the major battle and included a number of personalities from both camps. We are not looking at 'Alī's arguments with the representatives of the Syrians since our interest lies in Mu'āwiya. There are other incidents where one or more representatives are sent from one camp to the other. There are two particularly famous ones. The first is when 'Alī sends Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī to Syria to negotiate with Mu'āwiya before the battle of Ṣiffīn. The second occurs during the battle itself and it is a group of *qurrā'* who go from one side to the other trying to bring the two sides together. We have not chosen either of the above stories for the simple reason that neither is suitable for our purposes. Neither can be juxtaposed with the example we have in our second chapter on the

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[99]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 59, pp. 137-138.

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Kūfan exiles. The stories we have chosen are very similar to the Kūfan exile story in chapter two in that they all have several personalities confronting Mu'āwiya.

The first story takes place before any major battle between the two sides. The second is in the middle of the battle when both sides have decided to observe a truce during the month of Muḥarram. The earliest source in which we have found both stories is *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*. Both stories are also found in al-Ṭabarī, Ibn A'tham, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd[100] and only one story, the second, is found in Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Kathīr. We will be also looking at Madelung's assessment, as he has both stories in his book. Both al-Ya'qūbī and Ibn al-Jawzī have a short version of the first story.

Al-Ya'qūbī and Ibn al-Jawzī simply mention that before hostilities began, 'Alī sent a message to Mu'āwiya asking him not to break the community apart and not to spill blood. Mu'āwiya refused any reconciliation and opted for war.[101] Whether it was for the sake of brevity or simply the prerogative of the historian, neither al-Ya'qūbī nor Ibn al-Jawzī seems to be interested in the details of the negotiations. This is not the case with Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, whose report is much more detailed. Even so, the outcome of the negotiations, in all of the above narratives, is quite similar.

We will transcribe the first story as it is found in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*. Any difference from the other narratives, al-Ṭabarī's and Ibn A'tham's, will be indicated when necessary. The first difference is in the *isnād*.[102] The story begins by indicating that

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[100]There is little or no difference between both stories found in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd and Naṣr b. Muzāḥim. Compare *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, pp. 749-750, 753-755, with *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 187-188, 197-199.

[101]Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 177; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, pp. 103-104. Neither author mentions any person's name and both have one person sent to Mu'āwiya. Also in both narratives war breaks out immediately after the failed negotiations.

[102]In al-Ṭabarī, vol. 4 , p. 573 [3270/1], it is Abū Mikhnaf reporting from an unknown transmitter by the name of 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurra al-Ḥanafī. As for Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 185, the story comes to the author from Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh who is as obscure as most of the men in Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, in general. See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, vol. 2, pp. 250,

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before general hostilities 'Ali asked Bashīr b. 'Amr b. Muḥṣin al-Anṣārī,[103] Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī,[104] and Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Tamīmī[105] to go to Mu'āwiya, and ask him " to come to God, most High, most Praiseworthy, and to obedience and unity."[106] Before leaving Shabath asked 'Alī if they should not tempt Mu'āwiya with an office if he gave the *bay'a* to 'Alī. 'Alī told them "to go and argue with him and find out his opinion."[107] In the ensuing meeting the argument from a fact-finding mission turns into a lecture by the three messengers.

Bashīr was the first to speak. He reminded Mu'āwiya of the so-called 'framework' of this war.[108] He told him that this world was transitory and that he should be aware that his deeds in this one will be judged by God. Mu'āwiya interrupted him and asked him if he had said these words to 'Alī, at which point Bashīr gives us a lesson on the differences between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. Bashīr tells Mu'āwiya: "My master is unlike you: he has the most right, more than any other person, to this matter

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325, 301. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh transmitted from al-Jurjānī; Uthmān b. 'Ubaydallāh, who is also unknown.

[103]Bashīr or Bishr b. 'Amr b. Muḥṣin b. 'Amr was an Anṣārī from the Banū al-Khazraj. He is also known by the agnomen of Abū 'Amra. He was killed at Ṣiffīn. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, pp. 223-224 [no. 436], p. 234 [no. 466].

[104]Sa'īd b. Qays b. Murra al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī (death date unknown). He participated in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn. He was also one of those who were in the army of al-Ḥasan. Al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amin, *A'yān al-shī'a* (Beirut: Maṭba'at al-Inṣāf, 1950), vol. 35, pp. 32-51 [no. 7105]. It is interesting that, according to the author, it was this Sa'īd who led the Hamdān in an attack on the 'Akk and the Ash'ar at Ṣiffīn. p. 42. This might be a reference to the battle in which Mu'āwiya supposedly tried to flee. Here, though, there is no mention of Mu'āwiya fleeing.

[105]He is not mentioned in Ibn A'tham's version, in *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p. 24.

[106]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 187; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 573 [3270]; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p. 23. The only difference between the texts is that the formula after the mention of God, 'most High, most Praiseworthy.' is missing in al-Ṭabarī.

[107]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 187; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 573 [3270]; Ibn A'tham, *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p. 23. The exact words are: "*i'tūh alaān* [which missing in both al-Ṭabarī and Ibn A'tham, he has *inṭalaqā* instead of *i'tūh*] *wa iḥtajjū 'alayh wa unẓurū mā ra'yuh*." Ibn A'tham adds, "*wa 'alā mādhā qad 'azim*" to explain 'Alī's first statement, asking about Mu'āwiya's opinion, away and stress this last statement, asking about Mu'āwiya's intentions.

[108]See above in the story of 'Amr and his two sons.

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(i.e., the caliphate), this is all due to his merit, his religion, his precedence in Islam and his kinship to the messenger of God, peace be upon him."[109] Mu'āwiya did not answer, but asked: "what exactly are you saying?"[110] The immediate answer given by Bashīr differs from one narrative to the other. Some narratives have Bashīr answer: 'I invite you.'[111] Others have it: 'He orders you,'[112] with 'he' referring to 'Alī. But for Ibn A'tham's narrative, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim and al-Ṭabarī have the exact same wording. Bashīr tells Mu'āwiya, ". . . to fear your God and answer (i.e., obey) your paternal cousin to his summons to the truth,[113] for it is better for you in your religion and better for your end."[114] Mu'āwiya's answer is the usual one in this crisis that is, 'What about 'Uthmān's killers?' Here the narrative of Ibn A'tham diverges from the other two, in that Mu'āwiya curses the three messengers and tells them that all he has for them and 'Alī is the sword. Sa'īd b. Qays, on his way out, tells Mu'āwiya that not only will he regret his words, he will wish that his mother Hind had not given birth to him.[115] As for Naṣr b. Muzāḥim and al-Ṭabarī, a long speech by Shabath b. Rib'ī follows

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[109]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 187; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 573 [3270/1]; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, pp. 23-24.

[110]In al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 573 [3270/1] and Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p. 24 it is, "What is your master saying?" referring to 'Alī. Madelung took it also to be a reference to 'Alī. See his, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, p. 228.

[111]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 187: *'ad'ūka.'*

[112]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 573 [3270/1]; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p. 24; Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, p.228: *'ya'muruka,'* 'orders you.'

[113]Ibn A'tham adds, 'and to enter in what the Immigrants, Helpers, and Followers have entered.'*Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p. 24.

[114]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 187; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 573 [3270/1]; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, pp. 23-24. The text reads: *"ad'ūka ilā taqwā rabbika wa ijābat ibni 'ammika ilā mā yad'ūka ilayhi min al-ḥaqqi*; [Ibn A'tham adds: *wa al-dukhūl fī-mā dakhalat fīhi al-muhājirūn wa al-anṣār wa al-tābi'ūn] fa-innahu aslam laka fī dīnika, wa khayrun laka fī 'āqibati amrika."*

[115]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p. 24.

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Mu'āwiya's statement.[116] In this speech, actually more like a tirade against Mu'āwiya, Shabath accuses Mu'āwiya of a number of things, the most important of which is that Mu'āwiya wanted 'Uthmān dead in order to gain the position of caliph. Another is that the argument that 'Uthmān was unjustly killed is only a ploy used by Mu'āwiya to get people, the simple minded, to support him against 'Alī. It is then that Mu'āwiya swears at Shabath and angrily dismisses the three men promising war.[117]

Before we move on to our next story, a number of preliminary remarks are in order. It should be noted that Mu'āwiya did not really answer any of the above personalities' statements. This was not a discussion, it was a lecture by 'Alī's men. Our next story further enhances, or more correctly detracts from, the image of Mu'āwiya by making him out to be completely in error, but unlike the previous story it does have him answer some of the accusations.

This next story is the more prevalent of the two in our sources. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim and al-Ṭabarī use, for the most part, the same sources[118] (see Figure 2.5 at

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[116]It is possible that Ibn A'tham's narrative differs from that of the other two simply because his story does not have the character of Shabath b. Rib'ī.

[117]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 187-188; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, pp. 573-574 [3271/1-3272/1].

[118]This is the story we alluded to in our set-up story that shows al-Ṭabarī as having access to the same sources as Naṣr b. Muzāḥim (see above, p. 57). It should be noted that Ibn Kathīr has al-Ṭabarī's *isnād*. See Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 268. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 197. But for the first name, 'Umar b. Sa'd (who is an unknown), the other names in the *isnād* (Abū al-Mujāhid from al-Muḥill b. Khalīfa) are repeated by al-Ṭabarī below. This is actually one of the few times that we come across an *isnād* which is common in both al-Ṭabarī and Naṣr b. Muzāḥim. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 5 [3274/1] has it from Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204 A.H.). Hishām is supposed to have written 144 books and is seen as unreliable, not only in *ḥadīth* but also in history, though knowledgeable in genealogies. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 6, pp. 237-238 [no. 8937/81]. Who has it from Abū Mikhnaf (see above n. 32) from Sa'd Abū al-Mujāhid al-Ṭā'ī al-Kūfī, his death date is unknown. Al-Mizzī, vol. 10, pp. 317-318 [no. 2232]. He transmitted from a fellow tribesman by the name of al-Muḥill b. Khalīfa al-Ṭā'ī, also a Kūfan, and he happens to be the grandson of 'Adī b. Ḥātim, the person mentioned above in the story. We are also not given a death date for al-Muḥill. Al-Mizzī, vol. 27, pp. 290-291 [no. 5810].

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the end of this chapter). In this story 'Alī sends 'Adī b. Ḥātim,[119] Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī,[120] Ziyād b. Khaṣafa[121] and once more Shabath b. Rib'ī.[122] Apart from Ibn A'tham's version, the other narratives are very similar to each other but for a word here and there.

The first to speak is 'Adī b. Ḥātim. He tells Mu'āwiya[123] that he has come to ask for his obedience to the best Muslim ('Alī) whom the people have agreed on. 'Adī adds that it would be best to accept their call or they, Mu'āwiya and the Syrians, will suffer the same fate, defeat, as those at the battle of the Camel. At this point Mu'āwiya is outraged and tells 'Adī that his words are threats and not those of someone who wants a settlement. After Shabath and Ziyād answer Mu'āwiya, Yazīd repeats 'Adī's words without the threat. He tells Mu'āwiya to return to the unity of the community and adds that the people of religion and merit will never choose Mu'āwiya over 'Alī, nor will they put them both on an equal footing. Mu'āwiya finally answers by stating

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[119]'Adī b. Ḥātim b. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Imru al-Qays al-Ṭā'ī. He met the Prophet and converted to Islam from Christianity. He participated in the conquest of Iraq and traveled with Khālid b. al-Walīd to Syria. He was in Medina when 'Uthmān was assassinated. It is said that he felt that the loss of 'Uthmān was not more important than the passing of gas by a female goat. He lost an eye at the battle of the Camel fighting with 'Alī. Both his sons were killed during the civil war, one with 'Alī and the other with the Kharijites. He died in 67 A.H. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 4, pp. 8-10 [no. 3604]; al-Mizzī, vol. 19, pp. 524-531 [no. 3884].

[120]Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī was very vocal during the war at Ṣiffīn where he was killed. See al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yān al-shī'a*, ed. Ḥasan al-Amīn (Beirut: Maṭba'at al-Anṣāf, 1961), vol. 52, pp. 59-60 [no. 11350].

[121]Ziyād b. 'Umar b. Khaṣafa al-Tamīmī al-Bakrī (death date unknown) He was amongst the *ashrāf* of Kūfa who fought with 'Alī at Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān. Al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yān al-shī'a* (Damascus: Maṭba'at al-Itqān, 1949), vol. 32, pp. 312-319 [no. 6698].

[122]It is here that Ibn A'tham mentions Shabath. He is also the only author that has both incidents take place adjacent to one another. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, pp. 24-25.

[123]Only Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 268, mentions that 'Amr was to his side. This little bit of information is important later for the other narratives, which only mention Mu'āwiya. Oddly enough, and unlike in the other narratives, 'Amr plays no role later in the Ibn Kathīr narrative. See below.

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that as for the unity of the community, *al-jamā'a*, it is a wonderful idea,[124] but as for obedience to 'Alī it is not incumbent upon him or his followers. The reason, Mu'āwiya explains, is that 'Alī had a hand in the killing of 'Uthmān and is sheltering his killers. Mu'āwiya demands that the killers be handed over to him. At this, Shabath asks Mu'āwiya a very curious question, which is: would Mu'āwiya be happy if he were given power over 'Ammār b. Yāsir? Mu'āwiya answers that if this was done he would kill 'Ammār not in revenge for 'Uthmān but for 'Uthmān's client, *mawlā*, Nātil. At this point the 'negotiations' break down and 'Alī's emissaries leave.[125] In most of our sources Mu'āwiya is said to call Ziyād b. Khaṣafa aside to try and persuade him to leave 'Alī. But Ziyād tells Mu'āwiya he would never leave the 'truth' to be with 'criminals,' at which point Mu'āwiya turns to 'Amr, curses 'Alī's followers and describes them as being of one heart, i.e. righteous.[126]

Conclusion

It must be noted first and foremost that the character of Mu'āwiya in these discussions is unable to deliver any counterargument against any of the points made by 'Alī's messengers. One of these arguments, as it appears in both meetings, is that 'Alī is better qualified than Mu'āwiya in every possible way. Yazīd b. Qays tells Mu'āwiya, and explains to us, that "the people of religion and merit will not put anyone on the

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[124]We have taken the wording of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim and Ibn A'tham rather than al-Ṭabarī and the rest of our historians who have 'with us' 'ma'inā,' rather than 'ni'mā.'

[125]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 197-199; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 5-7 [3274/1-3277/1]; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, pp. 24-27; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, pp. 641-642; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, pp. 268-269. It should be noted that Ibn A'tham and Ibn Kathīr are the only authors who end the incident at the above point. The others add another part (see main text).

[126]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 199-200; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 6-7 [3276/1-3277/1] ; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 642. Here is where 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ appears.

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same level with 'Alī, nor would they waver if the choice was just between them."[127] Part of this episode's purpose is to show that Mu'āwiya did not and could not argue against the fact that 'Alī was more qualified than himself in leading the community. Another is the opportunity to debate the assassination of 'Uthmān. Here it is being argued that not only was this the only argument Mu'āwiya had against 'Alī, but it was also a weak one.

Madelung takes this argument, as he does with every negative comment about Mu'āwiya, to be the absolute truth. On Shabath's words to Mu'āwiya, that he really wanted 'Uthmān dead, Madelung states, "Mu'āwiya now felt uncomfortable. He sensed that Shabath had, with but slight exaggeration, uncovered his true motivation and was worried about the impact such subversive talk might have on his own people."[128] Not only does Madelung agree that Shabath was able to 'uncover' Mu'āwiya's 'true motivation,' he feels that Mu'āwiya himself believed that to be the case. Although Madelung does seem to accept the second story at face value, we believe he misses some of its subtleties, or maybe he purposely avoids them. Madelung writes that upon hearing Shabath's question about 'Ammār, "Mu'āwiya saw his chance. He could now make another show of his Umayyad arrogance to the 'boorish bedouin'."[129] The question about 'Ammār and its answer is very interesting.

Those who asked the question about 'Ammār were alluding to the Prophetic *ḥadīth* about the oppressive side being the one that will kill 'Ammār.[130] 'Alī's

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[127]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 198; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 5, p. 6 [3275/1]. For some reason Madelung leaves this bit out of his translation of the text in *The Succession to Muḥammad*, p. 229.

[128]Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, p. 228.

[129]Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, p. 229.

[130]For a thorough treatment of this particular *ḥadīth* as it pertains to the battle of Ṣiffīn, see Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, pp. 277-284. Mu'āwiya might have not been aware of the

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messengers are not the only ones who have this particular *ḥadīth* in mind, as is shown by their disgust with Mu'āwiya's answer, but Madelung as well also accepts this idea. The only one that seems unaware of this is, surprisingly, Mu'āwiya. This is when Mu'āwiya tells Shabath that not only would he not hesitate in killing 'Ammār, it would not be in revenge of 'Uthmān, the Caliph, but in revenge for Nātil, the client of 'Uthmān.[131] This latter part, byproduct of the exchange, is lost on Madelung and the early Islamic historians. It seems that Mu'āwiya not only sees 'Ammār as an ordinary person, as do the messengers, the historians, and Madelung; he also sees him as one of the killers of 'Uthmān, to which none of the above mentioned objected. Al-Jāḥiẓ feels that the very reason which enabled Mu'āwiya to win the leadership of the community was 'Alī and his supporters' seeming duplicity in the killing of 'Uthmān.

Al-Jāḥiẓ, in his treatise on the arbitration,[132] agrees that Mu'āwiya cannot be compared to 'Alī, but adds that Mu'āwiya was very lucky not to have been in Medina when 'Uthmān was killed. He argues that everyone who was at Medina during the murder, including 'Alī, was tainted with the suspicion of being on the side of the assassins.[133] This for al-Jāḥiẓ was the key to Mu'āwiya's success. Had the people around 'Alī not been so vocal in their affirmation that they killed 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiya, according to al-Jāḥiẓ, would never have attained the caliphate.[134] In this way al-Jāḥiẓ

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above *ḥadīth* simply because he was not there. The Prophet told this to 'Ammār when the Muslims were building the Prophet's Mosque in Medina as soon as they arrived. Mu'āwiya was still a polytheist at that time in Mecca. But that point is also lost on the historians and Madelung.

[131]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 198-199; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 6. [3276/1]; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p. 26; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 642; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 269.

[132]Al-Jāḥiẓ, "Risāla fī al-ḥakamayn wa taṣwīb amīr al-mu'minīn 'alī ibn abī ṭālib fī fa'lih," in *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ: al-rasā'il al-siyāsiyya*, ed., 'Alī Abū Milḥim (Beirut, Dār al-Hilāl, 1987), pp. 337-405.

[133]Al-Jāḥiẓ, "Risāla fī al-ḥakamayn," pp. 381-382.

[134]Al-Jāḥiẓ, "Risāla fī al-ḥakamayn," pp. 345-346.

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affirms for us the two points we made above. The first is that many of the supporters of 'Alī, according to the sources, were not shy of admitting that they did kill 'Uthmān and, second, that this was probably the one powerful argument for the opposition to 'Alī.

We have shown in this chapter that all the depictions of Mu'āwiya serve the same purposes, which is to demonize his character, especially since it is during this period that he fights the very important person of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. To accept these characterizations as true would negate all our efforts in trying to understand our sources. Unlike Lammens, Petersen, and Madelung we have come to realize that our sources' purpose on civil war Mu'āwiya was not tell the truth, but, instead, to weave for us the sad saga of the moving of pristine Islām during the Rashidūn period, to imperial Islām (kingship period). What modern scholars fail to realize is that the transition had already taken place during 'Alī's caliphate. We will see this in our fifth chapter, when we look at the narratives on the *bay'a* to Yazīd. But our first look into Mu'āwiya after the civil war will be on the killing of Ḥujr.

In our next two chapters we shall look at the depiction of Mu'āwiya after the civil war. Unlike the depictions of Mu'āwiya in this chapter, the stories in the fourth and fifth chapter contain two diametrically opposed characterizations of Mu'āwiya. We are referring here to Mu'āwiya as the Arab-shaykh and Mu'āwiya as a despot. Mu'āwiya's characterization, in the next chapter, is shaped by the transmitters' objectives for the story of Ḥujr. Just as the historical Mu'āwiya was the victim of opinions of our historians on the civil war, the historical Ḥujr will be the victim of the transmitters of his story.

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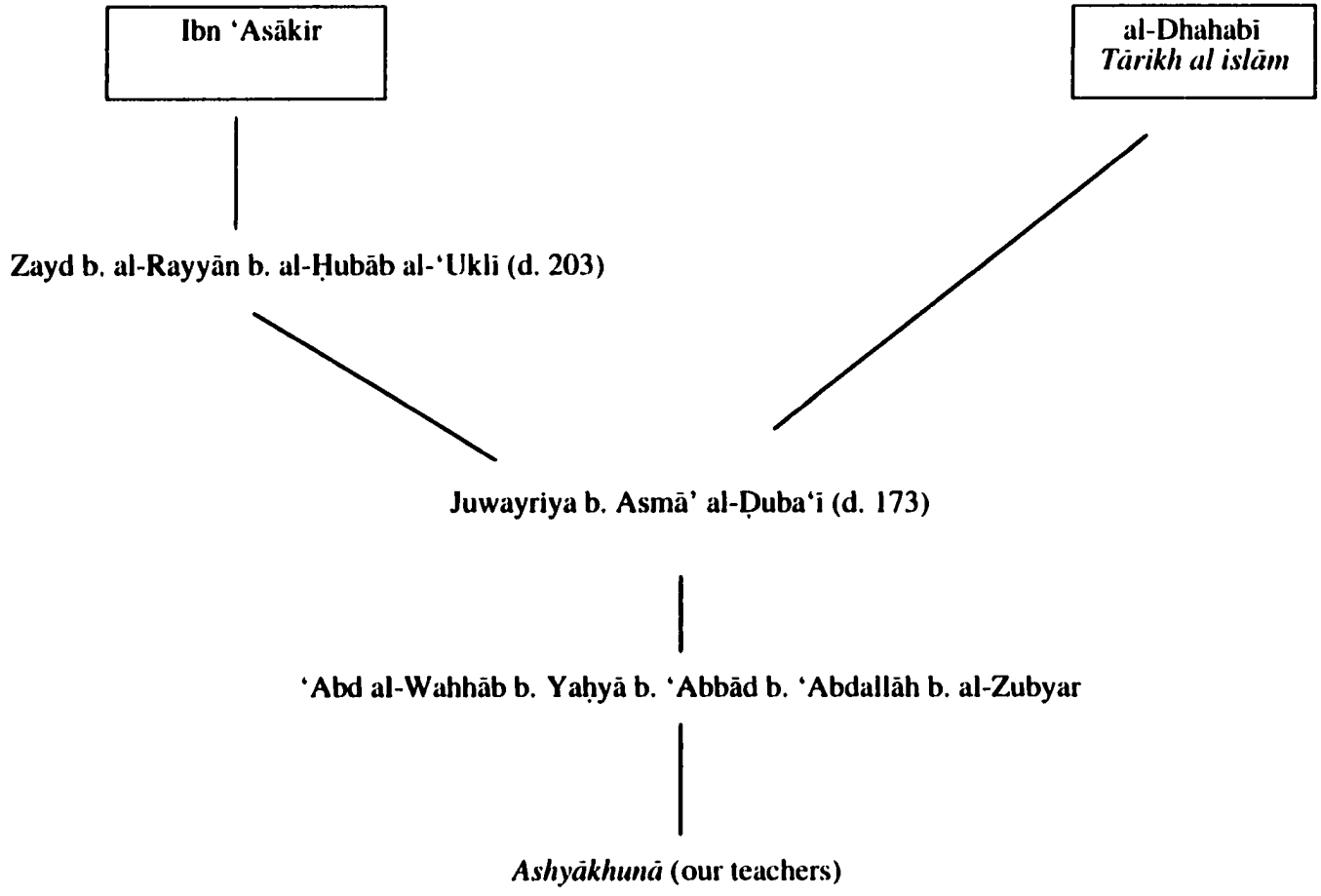
Ibn 'Asākir
al-Dhahabī
Tārikh al islām
Zayd b. al-Rayyān b. al-Ḥubāb al-'Uklī (d. 203)
Juwayriya b. Asmā' al-Ḍuba'ī (d. 173)
'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubyar
Ashyākhunā (our teachers)

Figure 2.1 The Set-up story *isnād* one.

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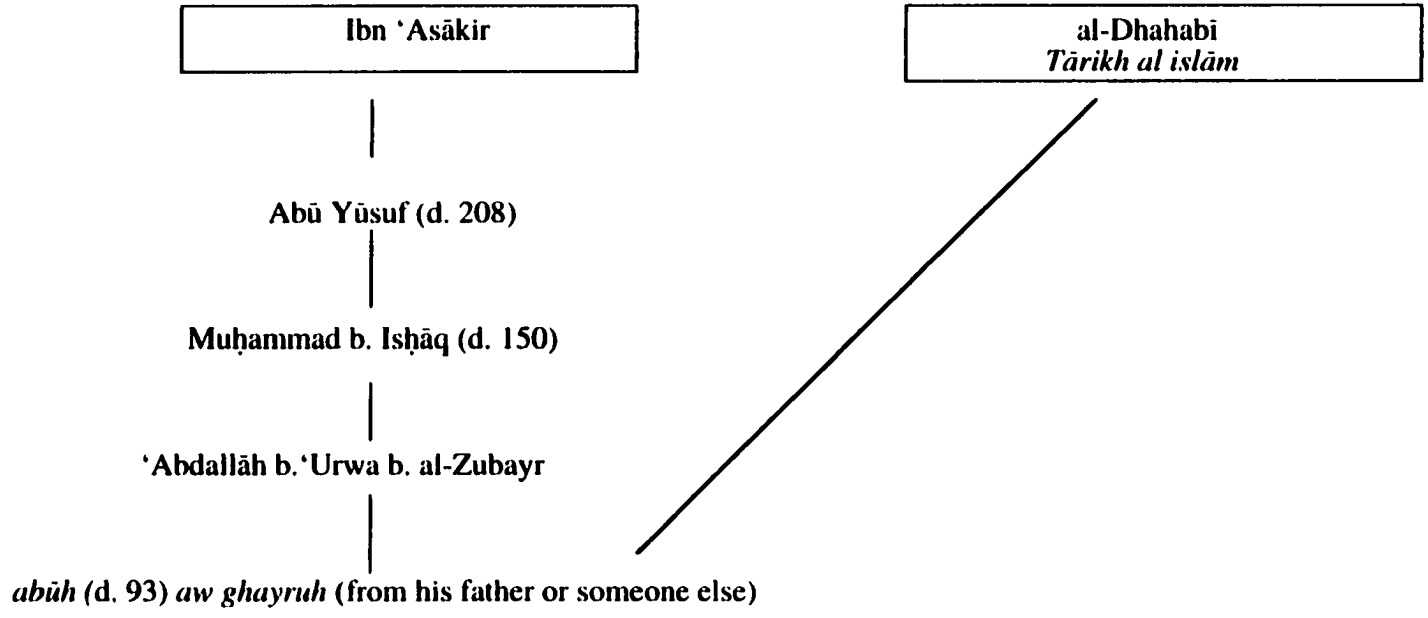
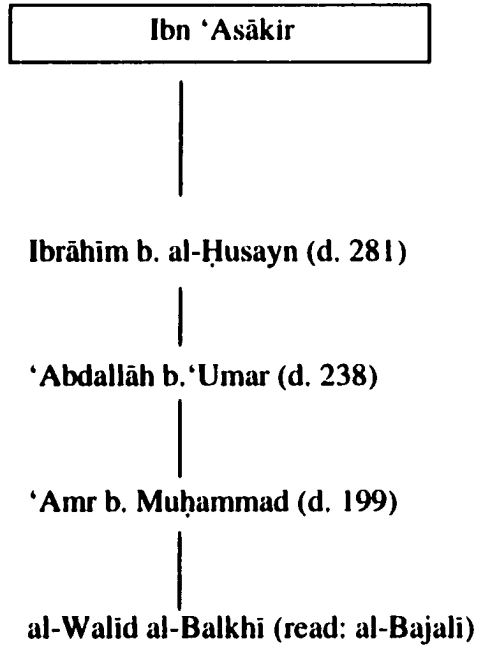

Ibn 'Asākir
al-Dhahabī
Tārikh al islām
Abū Yūsuf (d. 208)
Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 150)
'Abdallāh b.'Urwa b. al-Zubayr
abūh (d. 93) aw ghayruh (from his father or someone else)

Figure 2.2 The Set-up story *isnād* two.



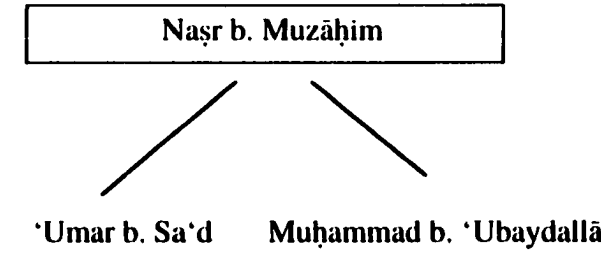


Figure 2.3 The Set-up story *isnād* three.

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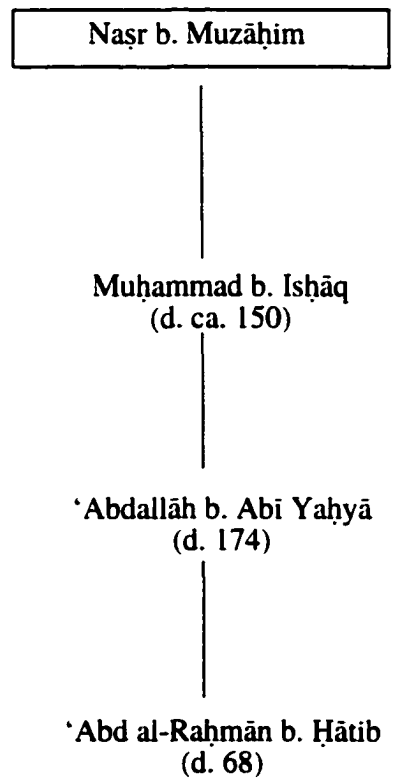

Figure 2.4 The Kūfan exiles *isnād* one.

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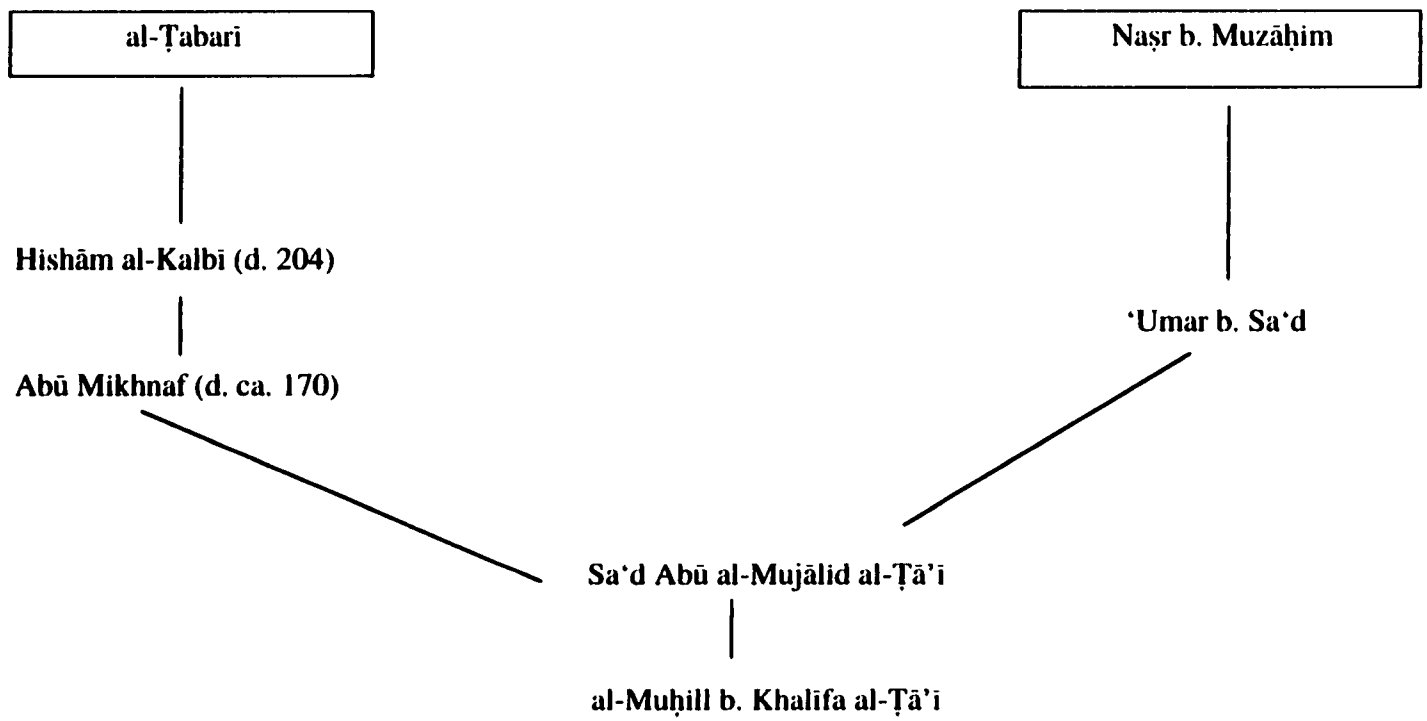

Figure 2.5 The Kūfan exiles *isnād* two.

CHAPTER 4

POST-CIVIL WAR MU'ĀWIYA: THE ARAB-SHAYKH AND THE DESPOT IN THE KILLING OF ḤUJR

This chapter and the following chapter look at Mu'āwiya after the civil war. In both chapters we will find that the sources portray yet another metamorphosis in the person of Mu'āwiya. But unlike the previous two periods/chapters, during this time, two distinct Mu'āwiyas are depicted side-by-side: the 'Arab-shaykh' Mu'āwiya and the 'despotic'[1] Mu'āwiya. Unlike in the previous chapters where Mu'āwiya's depiction changed dramatically from one period to the next, here and the next chapter the changes are within the same period. That is, Mu'āwiya's character changes according to the various versions of the story. We are not juxtaposing two morally distinctive depictions. As we will show below, either depiction can be negative or positive. This is not to say that the story being presented does not change by using one or the other. On the contrary, the change from the Arab-shaykh Mu'āwiya to the despotic Mu'āwiya not only changes the tone of the story but changes the perception of the history of this period. The acceptance of one depiction over the other by modern scholars who write on this period changes their understanding of the historical Mu'āwiya.

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[1]In the Introduction the term "Machiavellian" was used instead of "despotic." The word Machiavellian is more appropriate since it describes Mu'āwiya's character perfectly with regard to the episodes we are examining. Mu'āwiya is eliminating his rivals, forcing his opinions, and utilizing all his power to manipulate the public in order to maintain his, and by extension the Umayyads, control over the caliphate. This is the characteristic which is maligned or admired by modern scholars. Those who malign it view him as despotic. In fact, Madelung uses this word quite liberally when describing Mu'āwiya. See his *The Succession to Muḥammad*, pp. 141-310. Those who admire this characterization view it as 'realpolitik', pragmatic, or state building, or, to put it in Islamic terms, representative of 'group feeling' (*'aṣabiyya*), see Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, ed. N. J. Dawood, 9th ed (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 163-164.

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Modern scholars, when writing on Mu'āwiya after the civil war, also fall into two categories. There are those who believe he was a great centralizer (despot) and those who believe that his rule was greatly decentralized (Arab- shaykh).[2] One need only read the two *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles on Mu'āwiya to be struck by that difference. According to Lammens, Mu'āwiya throughout his reign tried to establish a centralized rule.[3] On the other hand, Hinds sees Mu'āwiya's rule as highly decentralized with the provinces being semi-autonomous.[4] Both are relying on the same sources. Our main concern remains the two episodes that depict Mu'āwiya as a despot rather than determining whether his policies were centralizing or decentralizing.

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[2]We believe that those who espouse the empire under Mu'āwiya as centralized have espoused the depiction of the despotic Mu'āwiya, while those who believe that it was a decentralized empire, with Damascus simply being the seat of the caliph, have espoused the Arab-shaykh Mu'āwiya depiction.

[3]Henri Lammens, "Mu'āwiya," *E.I.*,[1] vol. 3, pp. 617-621, esp. pp. 619-620. For more scholars who believed that Mu'āwiya was enacting measures to establish centralized rule see Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 217-219, although it should be pointed out that Hodgson believes that Mu'āwiya acted for the most part like an Arab-shaykh. Mahmood Ibrahim, the author of *The Social and Economic Background of the Umayyad Caliphate: The Role of Mu'āwiya ibn Abi Sufyan*, has a book entitled, *Merchant Capital and Islam* (Texas: The University of Texas Press, 1990), in which he has the better part of his dissertation, both works espouse the view of Mu'āwiya as a centralizer. See especially pp. 126-189. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm 'Uways, *Banū Umayya bayn al-suqūṭ wa al-intiḥār: dirāsa ḥawla suqūṭ banī Umayya fī al-mashriq* (Cairo: Dār al- Ṣaḥwa, 1987); Nabih 'Āqil, *Dirasāt fī al-'aṣr al-Umawī*, 4th ed (Damascus: University of Damascus, 1991-1992), both these works show Mu'āwiya as working to centralize the Empire.

[4]Martin Hinds, "Mu'āwiya I.," *E.I.*,[2] vol. 7, pp. 263-268, esp. pp. 266-267. Hinds forwards the notion that the Syrians desire to be autonomous lies at the heart of the dispute between Mu'āwiya and 'Alī; it can be found in an interesting conversation that supposedly takes place between 'Alī's messenger to Mu'āwiya, Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī and Mu'āwiya's Syrian supporter Shuraḥabīl b. al-Simṭ. In it Shuraḥabīl accuses Jarīr, and by implication 'Alī, of " wanting to mix Syria with al-Irāq," to which Jarīr replies, " as for your saying that I want to mix/combine Syria with al-Irāq, it would be better to combine them in righteousness than separate them in falsehood." Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 403. There is also the advice given to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī before the arbitration by al-Aḥnaf b. Qays: " know that if you lose al-Irāq there will be no Irāq." Ibid., vol. 4, p. 22. For more scholars who agree with this view see M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History: A new interpretation I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 79-81; Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphate* (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 78-79; G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), pp. 34-45; 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafājī and 'Abd al-'Azīz Sharaf, *Ma'ārik fāṣila fī al-tārīkh al-Islāmī 41-132 A.H.*

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These two occurrences revealing the despotic Mu'āwiya are the killing of Ḥujr b. 'Adī, which we will deal with in this chapter, and the appointment of Yazīd, Mu'āwiya's son, as heir apparent, which we will deal with in the next.[5] Other than these two incidents, Mu'āwiya's reign becomes the anecdote of the Arab-shaykh, if you will, the Harūn al-Rashīd of the Arabian Nights [a more appropriate title would be "Sectarian Nights"]. He is simply an anecdotal figure who facilitates the context, in which the different houses, 'Abbasid,' Alid, Zubayrid, and Umayyad, set forth their arguments for the caliphate.[6] Only with the story of the killing of Ḥujr and the appointment of Yazīd do we see an 'historical' Mu'āwiya. The reason for this, as stated in the introduction, is that both stories are of great importance to the historians. Ḥujr's importance lies in the fact that he is one of the first to be executed for sedition. It is not quite clear whether his execution was justified or an arbitrary act on the part of Mu'āwiya. The sources record an equal array for either side. Either way we are more interested in the depiction itself rather than the causes behind this episode. We will demonstrate that Ḥujr's story is shaped by the desires of the sources from which historians chose to include in their narratives. The drama that has taken place, and in which Mu'āwiya plays a role, changes according to the main thrust of the story.

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[5]There are other incidents in which Mu'āwiya hires someone to assassinate al-Ashtar, to assassinate 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd, and to assassinate al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. We find that these stories, although they are examples of the despotic Mu'āwiya, are not suited for our purposes. They are too short and easily discounted as untrue. The al-Ashtar and the 'Abd al-Raḥmān assassination are identical to each other. For the former, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 94-95 [3392/1]; for the latter, see ibid., p. 227 [82/2]. As for the story of al-Ḥasan, according to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 3, pp. 5-7, Mu'āwiya had al-Ḥasan poisoned by one of his wives, Ja'ada bint al-Asha'th b. Qays al-Kindī, after Mu'āwiya promised to marry her to his son and to give her 100,000 Dirhams. He apparently gave her the money but would not let her marry Yazīd. The story would be more useful in analyzing the life of al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī, who is perceived as the person responsible for forcing 'Alī to stop the fighting at Ṣiffīn. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 482-484.

[6]Such anecdotes are much more prevalent in biographical dictionaries than historical works. Compare al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 5, pp. 162-329 [5/2-205/2], to al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb*, vol. 4, pp. 15-20, 27, 35, 40, 47, 80, 92-94, 101, 105, 108, 121-122; vol. 3, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978), p. 45.

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The Secondary Sources

For the most part the Arabic and non-Arabic secondary sources are interested not in the depiction of Mu'āwiya but rather in analyzing the reasons behind his actions as they are set in our primary sources. Although their conclusions hint at a certain preference of one depiction over another, we cannot know which they have chosen unless we have analyzed the depictions themselves. Only then are we going to be able to correctly read our extant narratives. We will also be able to understand enough to avoid building theories on skewed evidence.[7]

Most sources agree that Ḥujr b. 'Adī and six or seven of his followers were executed during the caliphate of Mu'āwiya. The discrepancies lie in the reasons for the execution and whose orders were being carried out. The source of the orders continues to be disputed by modern scholars, especially Arab scholars. Some lay the blame solely on Mu'āwiya for the killing of the pious Ḥujr.[8] Hodgson believes that Mu'āwiya killed Ḥujr for refusing to give him the oath of allegiance. He sees the killing as an important step in maintaining the unity of the Muslim community. Hodgson believes Mu'āwiya, despite this autocratic act, to be no autocrat but, instead, an Arab-shaykh.[9] Shaban believes that Mu'āwiya was definitely behaving in a despotic manner, even though he believes Mu'āwiya to have been imbued with forbearance in all his actions.[10] Other scholars feel that it was Ziyād b. Abīh who not only provoked Ḥujr

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[7]We are reminded of an Akira Kirosawa film entitled *Rashomon* (1951) where the subject is the investigation of a murder. The witnesses and the suspects all faced the camera and gave their version of the events. Finally the murdered victim gives his version. Many would accept this final version as the truth. But it should be noted, as the film tries to convey, that even the victim has some issues, one of which is honor, that taint his version as much as the others.

[8]Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Wakīl, *al-Umawiyyūn bayn al-sharq wa-al-gharb*, pp. 87-90; Muḥammad al-Ṭayyīb al-Najjār, *al-dawla al-Umawiyya fī al-sharq: bayna 'awāmil al-binā' wa-ma'āwil al-fanā'*, 3rd ed (Cairo: Dār al-I'tiṣām, 1977), p. 80.

[9]Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, pp. 218-219.

[10]Shaban, *Islamic History I*, p. 89.

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but also pressed and pressured Mu'āwiya into executing Ḥujr.[11] And finally there are those who feel that Ḥujr's killing was the fault of both Ḥujr and Ziyād and thus Mu'āwiya had no choice but to execute Ḥujr.[12] There is even the view that the execution was the inevitable result of a class struggle within the nascent Islamic polity. This view is held by Mahmood Ibrahim, who feels that Mu'āwiya's execution of Ḥujr was the result of continued efforts on the part of Mu'āwiya "to undermine the economic interests of the New Segment,[13] especially by taking the Ṣawāfī land .... With its income taken away from them, this faction of the New Segment was reduced further despite their objections which ended in the execution of Ḥujr ibn 'Adī and some of his supporters, the first political execution in Islam."[14] Both Kennedy and Hinds argue along the same lines, although for them it is the struggle between the *ashrāf* (tribal leaders) and those who challenged them, like Ḥujr b. 'Adī, Mālik al-Ashtar and his son

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[11] Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-'Adawī, *al-dawla al-Umawiyya* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Shabāb, 1987-88), p. 87; Muḥammad Māhir Ḥamāda, *Dirāsa wathā'iqiyya li-l-tārīkh al-Islāmī wa-maṣādirihi: min 'ahd banī Umayya ḥatā al-fatḥ al-'Uthmānī li-Sūriyya wa-Miṣr 40-922 A.H./661-1516 C.E.* (Beirut: Mu'assassat al-Risāla, 1988), pp. 38-39.

[12] Julius Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions of Early Islam*, ed. R.C. Ostle, trans. R.C. Ostle and S.M. Walzer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1975), pp. 96-101; Hawting, *The First Dynasty in Islam*, p. 41. Hawting believes that the story of Ḥujr represents the first rebellion in favor of the 'Alids. Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad al-Rawāḍiyya, *Ziyād bin abih wa-dawruhu fī al-ḥayāt al-'āmma fī ṣadr al-Islām* (Jordan: Jāmi'at Mu'ta, 1994), pp. 212-223. This particular author belongs in the above two groups also since he argues in one part of his book that Ziyād should not be blamed for the execution of Ḥujr; rather, Mu'āwiya bears full responsibility, p. 222. However, in another he points out that Mu'āwiya did not know what to do with Ḥujr until Ziyād told him that if he wanted to keep control over the *miṣr* (that is Kūfa) he should not return Ḥujr to it, at which point Mu'āwiya executed Ḥujr (p. 220); 'Āqil, *Dirasāt fī tārīkh al-'aṣr al-Ummawī*, pp. 25-27.

[13] Ibrahim tells us that the New Segment was made up of three groups: 1) Disadvantaged members of the merchant class, e.g., Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and al-Ash'ath b. Qays. 2) Early Muslim converts. 3) *Rawādif*, that is, late comers to Kūfa. See his, *The Social and Economic Background of the Umayyad Caliphate*, p. 289.

[14] Ibrahim, *The Social and Economic Background of the Umayyad Caliphate*, pp. 370-371. Ibrahim must have zeroed in on the depictions that have the *causus belli* of the conflict be the result of the governor not giving Ḥujr his stipend on time. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 255 [112/2]; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 241; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 70; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 52.

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Ibrāhīm.[15] Hinds is even more specific when he states that Ḥujr and his supporters represented and were adherents "of the order adumbrated by 'Alī, seeking as an ideal an egalitarian world which was devoid of . . . such types of *ashrāf*."[16] All of the above secondary sources are accurate in their assessments. They have simply looked at one source and decided, without explaining their criteria for the reader, that it is the correct one. We will show, as we did in the third chapter, that these sources had a primary purpose that was lost on modern scholars in their use of the Ḥujr story.

The story of Ḥujr is made up of four elements. The first is the pre-conflict phase: Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba or Ziyād have their run-in with Ḥujr. The second is the *casus belli* phase, which describes Ḥujr's reasons for disobeying the authorities in Kūfa. The third element is the description of Ḥujr's arrest, which is a two-phased process, the first is the actual arrest and the second his sending to Marj 'Adhrā'. The fourth and final element is the description of his execution. All the historians agree on the above elements by having the story go through the above phases. There are a number of them, namely al-Ya'qūbī and Ibn 'Asākir, who add a preamble whereby 'Alī makes a prediction that Ḥujr will be martyred. The rest of the narrative found in al-Ya'qūbī and Ibn 'Asākir follows the same above sequence. The differences lie not in the sequence but rather in the emphasis of the elements. That is, we have four different versions of the Ḥujr story: Ḥujr as a martyr, Ḥujr as a dissident, Ḥujr as a rebel, and finally the tribal Ḥujr. To emphasize the particular view of Ḥujr none of these stories needs to have all of the above-enumerated elements. One or two of the elements only need to be emphasized, which is in fact what occurs in our sources, in order for us to know which view of Ḥujr is being depicted. Thus, if the story is that of the martyr-

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[15]Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, p. 84.

[16]Martin Hinds, "Kūfan Political Alignments and their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D." in *Studies In Early Islamic History*, eds. Jere Bacharach, Lawrence I. Conrad, and Patricia Crone (Princeton: Darwin Press. Inc, 1996), vol. 4, pp. 1-28, esp. p. 28.

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Ḥujr then the fourth element, the execution, is of primary importance. If it is the rebel-Ḥujr then there is a need to emphasize the third element, the *casus belli*, and give little or no importance to the execution. We will show below that this is in fact what we have. Mu'āwiya's role in all of this is also tempered by which rendition we are looking at. Mu'āwiya's role in the martyr-Ḥujr is quite different from that in the rebel-Ḥujr. The point is that Mu'āwiya's role and character changes, like that of Ḥujr, according to the story's goal.

Before going into the different depictions we shall first look at the two shortest entries on Ḥujr, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ and Ibn A'tham. We shall then look at a somewhat longer version from Ibn Sa'd. The two shorter versions are the skeletal outlines of the story, they seem to be concerned with "what happened" rather than the "why or how." Of the two short versions the earliest comes to us from Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ. As for the Ibn Sa'd version, which is also an early version, it is not a skeletal outline but an amalgamation of most of the versions that we will be talking about, put into one narrative.

Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ simply writes for the entry for the year 50 A.H. that Ḥujr b. 'Adī b. al-Adbar was killed by Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān along with a number of others that are mentioned by name.[17] There is no mention of why Ḥujr was killed: did he rebel, was it arbitrary--simply the year and that the orders came from Mu'āwiya. Our next source, Ibn A'tham, is a little bit more forthcoming with an explanation for the execution of Ḥujr but insufficient for us to establish his source. Ibn A'tham writes that to please Mu'āwiya, Ziyād kept killing 'Alī's followers amongst whom were Ḥujr and his friends. Upon Ḥujr's execution, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib prayed for God to

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[17] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 131. It should be noted that in Ibn Sa'd's entry on Mu'āwiya Ibn Sa'd, like Khalīfa and Ibn A'tham, is very brief on the killing of Ḥujr; see Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Ne., vol. 7, p. 492. Ibn Sa'd simply mentions that Mu'āwiya appointed Ziyād as governor of Kūfa after al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba. Ziyād told Mu'āwiya about Ḥujr and his friends, who were arrested and executed by Mu'āwiya.

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take Ziyād, and soon after Ziyād died.[18] Unlike the version found in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, the blame for the killing of Ḥujr lies squarely on Ziyād b. Abīh.

In the entry on Ḥujr in Ibn Sa'd, the story is told in much greater detail. Ḥujr b. 'Adī is considered in the first *ṭabaqa* of the *tābi'ūn* in Kūfa.[19] Ibn Sa'd has all four elements, each of which we can tell came from a different source. In the first element Ibn Sa'd has Ziyād meet with Ḥujr telling him that times have changed and that he should keep to himself and not join with the lowly people (*al-sufahā'*). This element is, as we will show below, taken from the Ḥujr/dissident version.[20] In the story of the *casus belli*, the second element, Ibn Sa'd continues with the Ḥujr/dissident version: The deputy governor of Kūfa, 'Amr b. Ḥurayth, asks Ḥujr to desist from meeting with the Shī'a, who considered him their leader.[21] The tribal version is found in the third element, part 1: Ziyād returns and has Ḥujr arrested.[22] Then Ibn Sa'd switches to the Ḥujr/dissident part 2: Ḥujr and his friends/followers are sent to Mu'āwiya. However, in the middle of this element Ibn Sa'd switches to the Ḥujr/rebel version, since he has Mu'āwiya not decide the fate of Ḥujr until he reads Ziyād's letter and listens to the witnesses, at which point he orders that Ḥujr and his followers be removed to 'Adhrā

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[18]Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 203. In most other sources al-Ḥasan has died before Ḥujr. See al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, pp. 213-217.

[19]Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 6, pp. 217-221.

[20]Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 218.

[21]Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 218. This is clear from their remark to him that "you are our shaykh and you are the most qualified to oppose this rule."(*innaka shaykhunā wa-aḥqqu al-nās bi-inkāri hādhā al-amr.*)

[22]There are a couple of interesting items in this element from Ibn Sa'd's narrative. The first is that upon his arrest Ḥujr tells Ziyād: "I am still on my oath of allegiance to Mu'āwiya. I do not revoke nor rescind it," p. 219 (*innī 'alā bay'atī li-mu'āwiya lā aqīluhā wa-lā astaqīluhā*). The second is the use of an obscure term, *bukhāriyya*, to describe the people Ziyād sent to arrest Ḥujr. The term is juxtaposed with the more commonly used term, *shurṭa*, p. 219. We assume that it is of the origin of this group of 'soldiers,' see Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-'Alī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Baṣra wa-minṭaqatihā: dirāsa fī aḥwālihā al-'umrāniyya wa-al-māliyya fī al-'uhūd al-Islāmiyya al-ūlā* (Baghdad: al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī, 1986), p. 48, where he states that 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād moved two thousand people from Bukhārā and re-settled them in Baṣra.

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where they are to be executed. Ibn Sa'd's execution scene, the fourth element, is from the Ḥujr/martyr version. Finally, Ibn Sa'd adds that Mu'āwiya, after sending the executioner, sent a messenger after him giving amnesty to all, but upon arriving seven of the prisoners had already been killed.[23] This is taken from the Ḥujr/rebel version. It seems from the confused state of the narrative, Ibn Sa'd was simply trying to put all of the different versions together in his entry on Ḥujr; he probably had access to all of the versions and simply decided to try and include all of them. There are no *isnāds* for us to be certain about this conclusion. Yet from the content and by looking at other sources we are able to see which version comes from what source. This will be made clearer when we look at the other sources' rendition of the story. The first version we will look at is the one we characterize as the Ḥujr/martyr version.

Hujr as a Martyr

Most of our sources carry the depiction of Ḥujr as a martyr. Most have an *isnād* for that story. One of the earliest is found in al-Balādhurī. As is shown in Figure 3.1 at the end of this chapter, al-Balādhurī,[24] al-Ṭabarī,[25] Ibn 'Asākir,[26] and al-

[23] Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 220.

[24] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, pp. 260-261, has it from both Rawḥ b. 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Hudhalī (d. 233, 34, 35 A.H.). He is a Baṣran. Al-Mizzī, vol. 9, pp. 246-247 [no. 1931]; and 'Umar b. Shabba b. 'Abīda b. Zayd b. Rā'iṭa al-Numayrī (b. 173- d. 262 A.H.). A reliable Baṣran transmitter. He was known to have been knowledgeable in both *siyār* and *ayām* genre. Al-Mizzī, vol. 21, pp. 386-390 [no. 4255]. They both transmitted from Sa'īd b.'Āmir al-Ḍuba'ī (b. 122 or 123 d. 208 A.H.). Sa'īd is also considered a reliable Baṣran. Al-Mizzī, vol. 10, pp. 510-514 [no. 2300]. Sa'īd transmits the above story from Hishām b. Ḥassān who transmitted it from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn. On both see below.

[25] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 256 [115/2], has it from 'Alī b. Ḥasan who is unknown. 'Alī transmitted from Muslim b. al-Jarmī whose name is Muslim b. Abī Muslim al-Ḥaramī (d. 240. A.H.). Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 6, p. 38 [no. 8363/1578]. He transmitted from Makhlad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī al-Muhallabī al-Maṣiyṣī (d. 196 A.H.). Hishām b. Ḥassān, whom he transmitted from, was his stepfather. Al-Mizzī, vol. 27, pp. 331-33 [no. 5832].

[26] Like al-Balādhurī, Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, p. 213, 215, has two branches of the story with the ultimate source being Hishām b. Ḥassān. (It should be noted that Ibn 'Asākir's *isnāds* are quite long since he is a much later author. So we have shortened them to the second or third generation after the source of the story). One branch is from Abū Mu'ādh or Abū Mu'ān

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Dhahabī[27] all use Hishām b. Ḥassān, who has it from Ibn Sīrīn, as their source for the Ḥujr as a martyr story. Others such as Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr, and Ibn Kathīr also have the story in their narrative but do not use an *isnād*. Yet it is clear from the content that their sources are the very same ones that the above historians used. This story emphasizes the third (arrest 2) and fourth (execution) elements of the Ḥujr story. There is little or no talk about the first (pre-conflict) and second (*casus belli*) elements of the story. It begins with Mu'āwiya and Ḥujr meeting face to face. After a short exchange Mu'āwiya gets angry and orders the execution of Ḥujr.[28] This meeting between Mu'āwiya and Ḥujr is unique to this story and this *isnād*. No other source has them meet face to face, not even the stories that try to depict Ḥujr as a simple dissident.[29] It is clear that this story is concerned with establishing that Ḥujr died as a martyr,[30] as this is elaborated in the very poignant description of his actions before his execution. The

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(death date unknown), T.T. vol. 12, p. 239 [no. 1085]. He transmitted from Ibn 'Awn whose name is 'Abdallāh b. 'Awn b. Arṭabān al-Muzanī (d. 150, 151, or 152. A.H.). He is considered a Baṣran like most of the men in these *isnāds* Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 31, pp. 326-374 [no. 3448]; al-Mizzī, vol. 15, pp. 394-402 [no. 3469]. Ibn 'Awn transmitted from Ibn Sīrīn. The other branch is 'Abdallāh, who is unknown, from Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍuba'ī (d. 178 A.H.) who is, like in most of our sources in these *isnāds*, from Baṣra. He was also known to have Shī'ī tendencies. Al-Mizzī, vol. 5, pp. 43-50 [no. 943]; from Hishām b. Ḥassān from Ibn Sīrīn.

[27]Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 194, has his story directly from the two main transmitters. He has it from Hishām b. Ḥassān from Ibn Sīrīn. Hishām b. Ḥassān al-Azdī al-Qurdūsī (d. 146, 47, 48 A.H.) who was also a Baṣran. Al-Mizzī, vol. 30, pp. 181-193 [no. 6572]; Muḥammad b. Sīrīn al-Anṣārī (d. 110 A.H.), was the *mawlā* of Anas b. Mālik and is supposed to have met 30 of the Prophet's Companions. He is considered a *tābi'ī*. His reputation for piety and righteousness is very similar to that of his contemporary al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Al-Mizzī, vol. 25, pp. 344-355 [no. 5280]; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 53, pp. 172-243 [no. 6444].

[28]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 260; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 256 [116/2]; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, pp. 213, 215; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 242; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 194; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 54.

[29]What makes this even more peculiar is that most of the names in the *isnād*, as shown above, are considered as trustworthy transmitters (see Figure 3.1 at the end of this chapter). Yet even with that in mind, al-Balādhurī and Ibn Kathīr (who after all looks very carefully on the authenticity of a *ḥadīth* and its transmitters in his history) feel that no such meeting took place. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 261; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 54.

[30]This point is made abundantly clear by al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 261, who says that Ibn Sīrīn, when questioned about whether a martyr should be washed, he gave the example of Ḥujr's execution, "*fa-kāna ibn sīrīn idhā su'ila 'an ghasl al-shahīd ḥaddatha bi-hādhā al-ḥadīth.*"

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story draws on the subconscious of the Muslim audience by enveloping Ḥujr's last actions before his execution with a well-known martyr from the *sīra*. This martyr is none other than Khubayb b. 'Adī, whom we met in our second chapter. Ḥujr, like Khubayb, asks permission to pray two *rak'as* which he does faster than his norm and then he is executed. Now it could be argued that when Ḥujr prays two *rak'as* he is simply following the *sunna* of another pious Muslim, namely Khubayb. But also having Ḥujr's words to his executioners be exactly the same as those of Khubayb leaves us wondering if perhaps Ibn Sīrīn was trying to evoke the memory of Khubayb's death in the mind of the readers/listeners. Both characters, after finishing their prayers, tell their executioners: 'Were it not that they might think I was afraid, I would have taken more time with them (i.e., his prayers).'[31]

The above depiction, despite its anti-Mu'āwiya tone, should not be attributed to Shī'ī tendencies. On the contrary, here Ḥujr's Shi'ite leanings are removed and his pietistic credentials are greatly enhanced by linking his memory with that of the very early figure of Khubayb. The Shi'ite credentials happen to be emphasized in our second version, the one we have characterized as the Ḥujr/dissident version. Unlike the above story, as Figure 3.1 shows, this one is from a number of different transmitters.

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[31] Ḥujr's words are: "*lawlā an yaẓunnū an alladhī bī ghayruhu- -ya'nī min khawf al-mawt- -lā'aṭaltuhumā.* " al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 261; "*lawlā an taẓunnū bī ghayra alladhī anā 'alayhi la-aḥbabtu an takūnā aṭwal mimmā kānatā.*" Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 257 [116/2]; "*lawlā an taqūlū jaza'a min al-qatl la-aḥbabtu an takūna rak'atān anfasa mimmā kānatā.*" p. 215; "*lawlā an taraw anna bī jaza'an la-ṭawaltuhā.*" p. 226; "*lawlā an taraw ghayra alladhī bī la-aḥbabtu an takūnā aṭwala mimmā kānatā.*" p. 228. All of the three are from Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12. "*lawlā an taẓunnū fiyya jaza'an min al-mawt la-istakthartu minhā.*" Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 80; "*lawlā an yaqūlū mā bī jaza'un min al-mawt laṭawwaltuhumā.*" Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 54. The following are three different examples of Khubayb's words: "*lawlā an yaqūlū jaza'a lazidtu.*" Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 541 [1435/1-1436/1]; "*amā wallāhi lawlā an taraw annī jaza'tu min al-mawt la-istkthartu min al-ṣalāt.*" Al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, vol. 1, p. 359; "*amā wallāhi lawlā an taẓunnū annī innamā ṭawwaltu jaza'an min al-qatl la-istkthartu min al-ṣalāt.*" Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra*, vol. 2, p. 173. Our revisionist friends might argue that maybe the story of Ḥujr came before the story of Khubayb. But it is Ḥujr who needs to be made into a martyr and not the opposite.

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Hujr as a Dissident

There is a fine line between this version of the story and that of Ḥujr as a rebel. This story tries to show that Ḥujr did indeed dislike the new order (Mu'āwiya/ the Umayyads) and was vocal in his dissent but never rebelled outright. To show this the story emphasizes that Ḥujr's only crime was that he loved 'Alī and that this love for 'Alī was the reason behind his execution. The story makes Ziyād and Mu'āwiya so hateful towards 'Alī and his supporters that it is precisely that which motivates Ziyād's accusation of Ḥujr and Mu'āwiya ordering his execution. Most of the versions we have of this story insert the point that Mu'āwiya wanted his governors of Kūfa to curse 'Alī. This started with al-Mughīra and continued under Ziyād.[32] Ḥujr could not stand this cursing and made it known to both governors. Ziyād reacted violently to that rebuke so he arrested Ḥujr and sent him off to Mu'āwiya, who executed him for refusing to curse 'Alī. Al-Ya'qūbī makes this point crystal clear when he points out that Ziyād's letter to Mu'āwiya says that Ḥujr and his friends have "broken away (*khālafū*) from the majority (*al-jamā'a*) in the cursing of Abū Turāb,[33] and they have reviled the governors and by that they have left obedience."[34]

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[32] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 243; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 218; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 253-254 [112/2]; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, pp. 241-242; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, pp. 69-70; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 52.

[33] An appellation given to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib by the Prophet, which, according to the Shī'ī authors was used by the Umayyads and their supporters in a derogatory manner. There are two explanations as to how the Prophet gave it to 'Alī. The first is during the raid on al-'Ashīra. 'Alī and 'Ammār were sent ahead to scout the enemy. After observing the enemy for a while they both fell asleep. It was none other than the Prophet who woke them up and as he was shaking off the sand from 'Alī he called him Abū Turāb. The other explanation is that whenever 'Alī would get mad at Fātima he would put sand on his head and thus he was called Abū Turāb by the Prophet. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, vol. 1, pp. 599-600. See also Etan Kohlberg, "Abū Turāb," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 41 (1978), pp. 347-352. The question then becomes why did this appellation, which was given by the Prophet, acquire such negative usage.

[34] Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 219.

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Al-Balādhurī has two examples of the Ḥujr/dissident version. The first version comes to al-Balādhurī through, 'Abbās b. Hishām al-Kalbī.[35] The second example comes from three different sources, the common link being al-Haytham b. 'Adī.[36] As was indicated above, it is from this version that Ibn Sa'd has taken his first and second element. The evidence is that, but for minor changes, the wording is quite similar.[37] Al-Kalbī and al-Haytham b. 'Adī's versions are pro-Ḥujr and anti-Mu'āwiya and Ziyād. In Ibn al-Kalbī's version of the first element Ziyād tells Ḥujr: "Oh Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the situation that we were in with 'Alī was false, and [it is] the [correct] order that we are in now."[38] Ḥujr's answer is quite forceful: "No, by God, Abū al-Mughīra! The world has seduced and spoiled you!"[39] As in the conversation between 'Amr b. al-

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[35]Although little is known about 'Abbās himself, his father, who is the major source of his stories, was a famous historian. His full name was Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī d. 204 A.H., on whom see previous chapter n. 121.

[36]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, pp. 246-247. Al-Balādhurī uses quite a number of stories from this very source, al-Haytham b. 'Adī; see pp. 250, 252, 259, 261. For the *isnād* of the above story see, Figure 3.2. Al-Haytham b. 'Adī al-Ṭā'ī al-Kūfī (d. 206, 207 A.H.). He is considered as a liar in transmission of *ḥadīth* but was an expert on History. Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 6, pp. 251-253 [no. 8977/121]; there is an interesting anecdote about his maid-servant. She used to say: "My lord would stay up most of the night praying. When the morning came he would sit and lie." p. 252. His father is not known. Majālid b. Sa'īd b. 'Umayr b. Bisṭām al-Hammadānī (d. 144 A.H.). He is also considered weak. Al-Mizzī, vol. 27, pp. 219-225 [no. 5780]; For 'Āmir b. Sharāḥil al-Sha'bī, see chapter 3 n. 38. Abū Jannāb al-Kalbī, whose name is Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥayya (d. 147 or 150 A.H.), was also a Kūfan. He is also considered weak in *ḥadīth*. Ibn Sa'd has him in the fifth *ṭabaqa* of the Kūfan *tābi'ūn*. Al-Mizzī, vol. 31, pp. 284-290 [no. 6817].

[37]The editor of *Ansāb al Ashrāf*, vol. 4, Iḥsān 'Abbās, seems to agree with this assessment as he footnotes the selection number 652 with a reference to Ibn Sa'd among others. See p. 246, n. 652. In both versions Ziyād meets with Ḥujr before he leaves to Baṣra and asks him to hold his tongue and not associate with the lowly people. But after Ziyād is gone, the Shī'ites come to Ḥujr and tell him that he is their leader and the most qualified to oppose the current regime. (The text rendered here is from al-Balādhurī with the Ibn Sa'd's version in [brackets]. "*amsik* [*imlik*] *'alayka lisānaka, wa-l-yasa'ka manziluka, wa-hādhā sarīrī fa-huwa majlisuka,* [*wa-ḥawā'ijuka maqḍiyya ladayya fa-ikfinī nafsaka fa-innī a'rifu 'ajalataka, fa-anshuduka allāh yā abā 'abd al-raḥmān fī nafsika*] *fa-iyyāk* [*wa-iyyāka*] *an tastazillaka* [missing] *hādhihi al-siflatu* [*wa haū'lā' al-sufahā' an yastazillūka 'an ra'yika,*] *aw yastafizzuka* [missing], ... *fa-lammā ṣāra ilā manzilihi ijtama'at ilayhi al-shī'a fa-qālū* [*wa-kānat al-shī'a yakhtalafūna illayhi wa yaqūlūna*]: *anta* [*innaka*] *shaykhunā wa-aḥaqq al-nās bi-inkāri hādhā al-amr.*" Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 247; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 218.

[38]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 242.

[39]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 242. Following this al-Balādhurī has a number of paragraphs that deal with al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba as governor of Kūfa and his dealings with Ḥujr. Since

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'Āṣ and his two sons, Ḥujr here reminds us that those who left 'Alī have been seduced by the world.[40] In Ibn Haytham's version the wording is very short and to the point, with no set-up as in the above version. Ziyād simply tells Ḥujr: "Oh you, we were on (followers of) what you knew, and now a new order has come."[41] Ḥujr does not respond because Ziyād really does not criticize or give an opinion on 'Alī's order or the present order of Mu'āwiya. Al-Balādhurī does not give us a detailed version of al-Haytham b. 'Adī's or al-Kalbī's rendition of the second element. In regard to al-Kalbī, the only entry from him is a short paragraph which states, among other things, that Ḥujr and his followers used to curse Mu'āwiya.[42] We know that there must have been a more detailed version, since al-Balādhurī has al-Kalbī weigh in on who was among the witnesses against Ḥujr.[43] Al-Balādhurī's version regarding the cause and the arrest of Ḥujr from al-Haytham is also not very detailed.[44] It simply states that when Ziyād was away his deputy, 'Amr b. Ḥurayth, asks Ḥujr what the purpose of these groups that are meeting with him is. Ḥujr answers quite defiantly: "A group that rejects what you represent."[45] At this point 'Amr asks for Ziyād to hurry back if he has any interest in Kūfa. Upon his return Ziyād sends the tribal *ashrāf* to persuade Ḥujr to turn himself

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there is no *isnād* on any of these particular paragraphs we are unable to utilize them as part of Al-Kalbī's narrative.

[40]To use a modern equivalent, Ziyād is Darth Vader seduced by the Dark Side represented by the "emperor" Mu'āwiya.

[41]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 247.

[42]It is interesting to note that al-Kalbī adds that Ḥujr disavowed al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī for making peace with Mu'āwiya. He used to rebuke him for making peace when he had 40,000 men ready to fight. Ibid., p. 243.

[43]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 255; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 242; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 78.

[44]As, we stated above, Ibn Sa'd's version bears a very close resemblance to this one vis-à-vis this element.

[45]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 247.

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in, but to no avail.[46] In both the above versions it was Ḥujr and his followers' opinions of the present regime that caused the hostile reaction on the part of Ziyād. Al-Kalbī adds that when Ḥujr was brought in front of Ziyād, he told Ziyād that he had not rebelled.[47] This is without a doubt to make sure that the reader understands that shedding Ḥujr's blood was unlawful since he had not openly rebelled.

Al-Mas'ūdī, who only has the arrest and execution of Ḥujr, is much clearer on that point. He explains to us through the words of the executioner why Ḥujr and his friends are killed. The executioner accuses Ḥujr of being a follower of Abū Turāb[48] and the source of disbelief. He asks Ḥujr and his friends to come back from their disbelief and curse 'Alī and disavow him.[49] To this half of the prisoners, including Ḥujr, tell the executioner that they will never abandon the *waṣī* of the Prophet, i.e., 'Alī. It is clear that al-Mas'ūdī's source believed that Ḥujr's detractors were accusing him of being a follower of 'Alī, which they unjustly equated with rebellion. Then al-Mas'ūdī goes into the final scene: Ḥujr prayed two prostrations, after which, al-Mas'ūdī tells us, he was slaughtered.[50]

In the Ḥujr/dissident version in Ibn al-Athīr the idea of Ḥujr is being punished because of his love and respect for 'Alī is utilized in three different ways. The first shows that it is not only Ḥujr but also his friends who were being asked to disavow 'Alī. Ziyād tortures a man by the name of Ṣayfī b. Fasīl for refusing to curse 'Alī.[51] Another and more important way is the letter that Ziyād sends to Mu'āwiya, in which

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[46]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, pp. 247-248.

[47]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 251.

[48]See above n. 33.

[49]Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 3, pp. 12-13.

[50]Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 13. Al-Mas'ūdī uses the word *naḥr*, which is usually used to describe the slaughter of an animal.

[51]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 73.

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Ḥujr's crimes are enumerated. Among these is the accusation that Ḥujr and his friends believe that the caliphate does not belong to anyone not of the family of Abū Ṭālib, and that Ḥujr and his friends have excused 'Alī and asked God to have mercy on his soul.[52] Finally, there is the executioner, who tells Ḥujr and his friends: "We have been ordered to present you with disavowing and cursing 'Alī, for if you do that we will leave you, and if you refuse we will kill you" (*innā qad umirnā an na'riḍa 'alaykum al-barā'a min 'alī wa al-la'n lahu, fa-in fa'altum taraknākum, wa in abaytum qatalnākum*).[53] Al-Dhahabī also has this last incident in his narrative on Ḥujr. His wording is a little less polemical in that the executioner asks Ḥujr and his followers "to repent and disavow himself from 'Alī, may God be pleased with him "(*al-tawba wa al-barā'a min 'alī raḍiya allāhu 'anhu*).[54] The Ḥujr/dissident version differs from the other versions also in the subtle way in which it informs the reader that Ḥujr died as a Muslim martyr.

We find two stories in al-Balādhurī that inform us that even though Mu'āwiya and Ziyād may have convinced some people of Ḥujr's guilt there were still good people who refused to do their evil bidding. One such person was Ibn Khuraym al- Murrī,[55] who Mu'āwiya sends to execute Ḥujr. Ibn Khuraym curses Mu'āwiya once he finds

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[52]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 78. The exact words are: "*wa za'ama anna hādhā al-amr lā yuṣluḥ illā fī āli ibn abī ṭālib . . .wa aẓhara 'udhr abī turāb wa al-taraḥḥama 'allayhi.*"

[53]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 80; see also, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 257.

[54]Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 193. The epitaph certainly was not that of the executioner.

[55]This is the only time we come across this name. There is one Ayman b. Khuraym b. Fātik b. al-Akhram al-Asadī who we are told was asked by 'Abd al-Malik if he would fight Muslims. He answered: "I would never kill someone who prays." This is similar to the incident above but the name is not quite the same. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 16, pp. 351-352. There is also one Khuraym b. 'Amr al-Murrī who figures in the killing of Qutayba b. Muslim in the year 97 A.H., which seems too late for his son to play any role in the killing of Ḥujr in 51 A.H. For the Khuraym b. 'Amr al-Murrī see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 6, p. 519 [1300/2], p. 527 [1312/2].

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out that Ḥujr and his friends are Muslims.[56] In another story,[57] Mu'āwiya asks 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth al-Zuhrī[58] to execute Ḥujr and his friends. 'Abd al-Raḥmān asks Mu'āwiya if he could find someone more ignorant of God and his Will to do that job.[59]

The Ḥujr/dissident version also tries to establish that Ḥujr died as a martyr. But unlike the Ḥujr/martyr version it has no explicit scene whereby Ḥujr's actions mirror that of a well known martyr; instead, implicit statements are made that lead us to believe that those who transmitted the Ḥujr/dissident story believed he did die as a martyr. Al-Haytham achieves this goal through his rendition of the execution scene by having Ḥujr recall that when he conquered Marj 'Adhrā' he had asked God to make him a martyr during the campaign. Thus his wish is granted by being executed in the same place he had conquered.[60] In al-Ya'qūbī and Ibn 'Asākir, 'Alī predicts that Ḥujr and his followers will be martyred.

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[56] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 260. The exact wording is: "*ba'atha mu'āwiya ibn khuraym al-murrī jadda abī al-haydham li-yaqtulahum, fa-lammā ṣāra ilayhim qāla: mā antum? qālū: muslimūn, fa-qāla: 'alā mu'āwiya la'natu allāh ya'murunī biqatl al-muslimīn*!" Al-Balādhurī finds this story unbelievable. Al-Balādhurī only has one authority for this story, Ghiyāth b. Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (no death date). He is a Kūfan who is accused of falsifying *ḥadīth*. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 4, pp. 490-491 [no. 6504/38].

[57] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 259. Here the *isnād* is a little longer: 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim al-'Ijlī al-Kūfī (d. ca. 210s). He worked as a judge in Shīrāz or one of its suburbs. Al-Mizzī, vol. 15, pp. 109-116 [no. 3337]. He transmitted from Ibn 'Awāna who is not known. He transmitted from his father 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam b. Wazr al-Kalbī (d. 147 A.H.). He was a blind Kūfan who is supposed to have written a book entitled *Sīrat Mu'āwiya wa banū Umayya*. See al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Yūsif 'Alī Ṭawīl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1988), pp. 145-146; al-Dhahabī, *Siyār*, vol. 7, p. 201.

[58] There is some dispute as to whether he was a Companion or a *tābi'ī*. Most authorities believe him to be the latter. He was close to 'Ā'isha. Al-Mizzī, vol. 16, pp. 525-529 [no. 3756]; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1970), vol. 4, pp. 286-288 [no. 5084].

[59] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, pp. 259-260.

[60] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 259. Al-Haytham allows readers to reach the above conclusion by themselves.

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In al-Ya'qūbī there is no *isnād* and no details. He simply states that at the battle of Ṣiffīn 'Alī tells Ḥujr that he will be among those who will be martyred.[61] On the other hand, in Ibn 'Asākir we have two ways in which Ḥujr is made into a martyr by prediction. Although one goes back to 'Ā'isha and the other to 'Alī, they both have a common name in the *isnād*, that is Ibn Lahī'a[62] (see Figures 3.3[63] and 3.4[64]). The 'Ā'isha version has her meet with Mu'āwiya and tell him that the Prophet has said: "There will be people killed in 'Adhrā' for whom God and the people of Heaven will be

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[61]Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 185. See below on Ibn 'Asākir's version of the story of 'Alī's prediction for Ḥujr and his friends.

[62]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, pp. 226-227. He is 'Abdallāh b. Lahī'a b. 'Uqba b. Fur'ān b. Rab'ā b. Thawbān al-Ḥadramī al-Miṣrī (d. 173, 174 A.H.). He is said to have met more than 70 *tābi'īs*. There is an interesting discussion in al-Mizzī about whether his books got burned or not. Al-Mizzī, vol. 15, pp. 487-503 [no. 3513]. Ironically he is not well thought of by Madelung, see his, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, p. 376.

[63]This *isnād* has two branches that come together at Ibn Lahī'a and then separate again. The first branch from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn who is unknown, from 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Darstawayh al-Fārisī (d. 347 A.H.). He was a grammarian. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 3, p. 334 [no. 4515/164]. He transmitted from Ya'qūb b. Sufyān b. Juwān al-Fārsī (d. 277 A.H.). He is famous for his many books on *ḥadīth*. Al-Mizzī, vol. 32, pp. 324-335 [no. 7088]; There is touching story in his entry to which we can certainly relate. The story is how his sight was restored in a dream by the Prophet during his sleep. It is his first thoughts after losing his sight that touch us: upon losing his sight he began to cry for being so far away from his homeland and for never being able to read any of the knowledge that he wrote or the knowledge he would have written. p. 332. He transmitted from Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥarmala b. 'Imrān al-Tujībī (d. 243 or 248. A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 5, pp. 548-552 [no. 1166]. He transmitted from 'Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Qurashī (d. 197 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 16, pp. 277-287 [no. 3645]. He transmitted from Ibn Lahī'a see above n. 62, who transmitted from Abū al-Aswad Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nawfal b. al-Aswad al-Qurashī (d. ca. 150s A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 25, pp. 645-648 [no. 5411]. The second branch starts with Aḥmad b. Shabuwayh, whose name is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Thābit b. 'Uthmān b. Mas'ūd b. Yazīd al-Khuzā'ī (d. 229 or 230 A.H.). He was a friend of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and was pardoned in the Miḥna. Al-Mizzī, vol. 1, pp. 433-436 [no. 94]. He transmitted from Sulaymān b. Ṣālīḥ al-Laythī, better known as Salmawayh (d. ca. 210 A.H.) He is known for his book, *Waqā'i' Khurāsān*. Al-Mizzī, vol. 11, pp. 453-454 [no. 2529]. He transmitted from the famous 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak b. Wāḍiḥ al-Ḥanẓalī (d. 181 A.H.), who is described as an *imām ḥujja* in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. Al-Mizzī, vol. 16, pp. 5-25 [no. 3520]. He transmitted from Ibn Lahī'a (see above n. 62) who transmitted from Khālid b. Yazīd b. al-Jumaḥī (d. 139 A.H.). Al-Mizzī, vol. 8, pp. 208-210 [no. 1666]. Khālid transmitted from Sa'īd b. Abī Hilāl al-Laythī (d. 135, 136, or 149 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 11, pp. 94-97 [no. 2372], see Figure 3.3 at the end of this chapter.

[64]Here, as in the above *isnād*, the *isnād* is also two branches. The first branch starts with an unknown 'Abdallāh. He transmitted from Suwayd b. Sa'īd b. Sahl b. Sharayār al-Harawī (d. 240 A.H.). In his latter years, al-Harawī lost his sight, and became known for his unreliability in *ḥadīth* transmission. Al-Mizzī, vol. 12, pp. 247-255 [no. 2643]. He transmitted from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqri' 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd (d. 212 or 213 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 16, pp. 320-325 [no. 3666]. He transmitted from Ibn Lahī'a (see above n. 62), who had it from al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 130

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angry."[65] In the version that goes back to 'Alī, the reference is to a Qur'ānic verse.[66] 'Alī tells the Kūfans (in another version, it is the people of Iraq) that seven of the best of their people will be killed much in the same way as the people of the fiery trenches.[67]

The Qur'ānic verses referred to by 'Alī state: "Cursed be the diggers of the trench, who lighted the consuming fire and sat around it to watch the faithful being put to the torture! Nor did they torture them for any reason save that they believed in God."[68] According to the exegetes, this refers to an event that already took place rather than a prediction. Most of the exegetes include several explanations to the story. Most of these are attempts at finding the people referred to in the Qur'ānic verse. Some of the explanations go back to 'Alī, the most common being that the verse is in reference to a Persian king who in a drunken stupor slept with his sister (sometimes it is his daughter). Afterwards he wanted to make what he had done legal, but the religious scholars, *'ulamā'*, refused and thus they were thrown in the fiery trenches.[69] In none

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A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 5, pp. 306-308 [no. 1052] and transmitted from 'Abdallāh b. Zurayr al-Ghāfiqī al-Miṣrī (d. 81 A.H.), who was a *tābi'ī* known for his love of 'Alī. Al-Mizzī, vol. 14, pp. 517-518 [no. 3272]. The second branch, starts also with an unknown Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl, who transmitted from Abū Muḥammad b. Darstawayh, for him see previous footnote, he transmitted from Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, see also previous footnote, Ya'qūb transmitted from Ibn Abī Bukayr. The latter's name is Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh b. Bukayr al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī (d. 231 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 31, pp. 401-404 [no. 6858]. Ibn Abī Bukayr transmitted from Ibn Lahī'a from al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd from 'Abdallāh b. Zurayr al-Ghāfaqī, same as in the first branch. See Figure 3.4 at the end of this chapter.

[65]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, p. 226. The exact words are: "*sa-yuqtal bi-'adhrā' nās yaghḍab allāh lahum wa-ahl al-samā'*."

[66]It is Qur'ān 85:4-9. See above for translation.

[67]Ibn Asākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, p. 227. The exact words are: "*yā ahl al-kūfa sa-yuqtal fikum sab'at nafar khiyārikum, mathaluhum ka-mathal aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd minhum ḥujr b. al-adbar wa-aṣḥābuhu, qatalahum mu'āwiya bi-al-'adhrā' min dimashq kulluhum min ahl al-kūfa.*" In another version the wording is as follows: "yā *ahl al-'īrāq sa-yuqtal minkum sab'at nafar bi-'adhrā'-ya'nī- matahluhum ka-mathali aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd, qutila ḥujr wa-aṣḥābuhu.*"

[68]Qur'ān 85: 4-9.

[69]See: Al-Zamkhsharī, *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzil wa-'uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābli al-Ḥalabī and Sons, 1966-68), vol. 4, p. 238; al-Ṭabarsī, *Mu'jam al-*

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of our explanations on the verse was there any reference to Ḥujr and his friends. But it is clear that the purpose of the story put forward by Ibn Lahī'a was to show that, like the believers referred to in the Qur'ānic verse, Ḥujr and his friends will be executed unjustly by an oppressive king, Mu'āwiya.

Although we cannot say for certain, the above version of the Ḥujr/dissident, might be a later one. The reason for this conclusion is the heavy emphasis on Mu'āwiya's anti-'Alī tone in it. There is also the clear reference to 'Alī as the *waṣī* of the Prophet.[70] Finally, there is the reference to 'Alī's prediction of Ḥujr being unjustly killed. It is significant that the earliest exegetical explanations of the Qur'ānic verse 85: 4-9 do not have 'Alī's explanation. Our next version is most probably also a later one, as it reflects later tribal rivalries.

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bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān (Qumm: Maktabat Āyat Allāh Al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, 1982), vol. 9, p. 465. Previous to the explanation there is a story in which 'Umar is asked about the Magians and their status under Muslim suzerainty. 'Umar explains that they are neither Christians nor Jews and they don't have a book. 'Alī explains that this is not the case, and that they had a book and thus were believers until their king committed that incestuous act. He recounts the Qur'ānic verse and the story. In al-Ṭabarī, 'Umar was not alive when the troops came back to ask that question, so 'Alī answered it, (see below). There is also another explanation by 'Alī which refers to an Ethiopian prophet who was killed along with his followers by that country's king. pp. 465-466. Al-Ṭabarsī, who was a Shī'ī, is the only exegete whose explanation of this verse can be seen as an attempt at extrapolating a future assessment. He tells us that in the story there were two groups of people who were damned by God: the unbelievers who forced the believers into the fiery ditch and the believers who sat and did not oppose or object to the unbelievers' actions. It could be that he views those who did not fight with or against 'Alī or other Shī'ī *imāms* in the same light as the latter group, al-Ṭabarsī, p. 468; al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr lil-imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1980s), vol. 31, p. 117; al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1997), vol. 19, p. 254. al-Qurtubī has both of 'Alī's explanations, which deal with the Persian king and the Ethiopian prophet; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1986), vol. 30, pp. 84-87. Al-Ṭabarī has yet another story also from 'Alī. This time it takes place in Yemen where the believers fought twice with the non-believers winning both times. After that the believers drew a peace treaty but the non-believers broke it and threw the believers in the fiery ditch. See pp. 84-85; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, fourth edition (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1983), vol. 7, p. 255. Ibn Kathīr has 'Alī's explanation but feels that the reference is not to a specific incident in history. Then there are those exegetes who don't have 'Alī's explanation, such as: Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān*, ed. 'Abdallāh Maḥmūd Shiḥāta (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li-l-kitāb, 1979-89), vol. 4, pp. 645-651; al-Qummī, *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, ed. al-Sayyid Ṭayyib al-Mūsawī al-Jazā'irī (Najaf: Maṭba'at al-Najaf, 1967), vol. 2, pp. 413-415; Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *Tafsīr al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, eds. 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd, 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awaḍ, et al (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1993), vol. 8, pp. 442-443.

[70] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 13.

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Hujr, the Tribal Version[71]

There are a number of versions of the Ḥujr story which seem to be more concerned with the actors' tribal affiliations than with Ḥujr himself. These versions are scattered all over the sources and are sometimes mixed with the other versions. Many of them do not have an *isnād*, and thus it is hard to try to establish a common link as we did with the Ḥujr/martyr story. Even so, we are able to ascertain that there must have been this kind of version because of the common tribal theme in all of them. Amongst the many parts of this version we have added the "witnesses element" since it is very much a "who's who" of leading tribal personalities.

As was indicated above, Ibn Sa'd uses the Ḥujr/tribal version for his third element part one, the arrest of Ḥujr, as does al-Ṭabarī. On the other hand, al-Balādhurī has part two instead of part one of the very same element. In the Ḥujr/tribal version, unlike the other versions, there is the witnesses' element. This particular element is a list of the signatures of the witnesses against Ḥujr to the accusations that were leveled against him. The accusations range from disbelief to removal of the *bay'a*. Al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī have similar versions of the story, but Ibn al-Athīr, although a very late source, is different enough that he warrants our attention. Al-Balādhurī has two versions, one of which he indicates that he got from al-Madā'inī.[72] The other has

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[71] For a study of the tribal perspective in the early Islamic sources see: Fred M. Donner, "The Tribal Perspective in Early Islamic Historiography," *Historiography in Early Islamic Times: Studies and Perspectives*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad (Darwin Press, forthcoming). There is in fact a short, very tribal-oriented entry in the Ḥujr incident in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 250, from al-Haytham b. 'Adī. Donner uses al-Haytham as an example of an author with a tribal perspective. See Donner, p. 21.

[72] His name is Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sayf (d. 225 A.H.). He was a famous historian who lived in the latter half of the second and the first half of the third century A. H. He is known to have authored two hundred works, of which, unfortunately, only two have survived to this day. Many of his writings, especially the historical narratives, are quoted quite extensively by later historians such as al-Balādhurī, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, to name but a few. There is an interesting story in Yāqūt's book, p. 1854 (full reference below) about a conversation al-Madā'inī had with the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn. "He was telling al-Ma'mūn stories about 'Alī, when the conversation came to al-Ma'mūn's cursing of the Umayyads. Al-Madā'inī told him that Abū Salma al-Muthannā b. 'Abdallāh, the brother of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī told

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no *isnād*, although from the wording we believe it is, like al-Ṭabarī's version, from Abū Mikhnaf.[73] We will look at these different sources but first our attention will be turned to al-Balādhurī who is the only source that has the Ḥujr/tribal version of the second element.

Al-Balādhurī's Ḥujr/tribal version of the second element, which has no *isnād*, goes something like this: Ḥujr and Ziyād hated each other because the latter would not sentence to death an Arab from the tribe of Banū Asad who had killed a Nabatean convert to Islam. Ziyād wanted the family of the Nabatean to accept blood-money. The family refused saying that they thought the lives of Muslims were equal regardless of their race. At this point Ḥujr tells Ziyād that if he does not kill the killer he will hit Ziyād with his sword. Upon that Ziyād executed the Asadī and wrote to Mu'āwiya about Ḥujr.[74] The story continues with the imprisonment of Ḥujr and the witnesses who come forward to sign the letter to be sent to Mu'āwiya.

Let us now comment on another aspect of the Ḥujr/tribal story that is found in great detail in al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, who most probably got it from al-Ṭabarī.[75]

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him that a man told him that when he was in Syria he never heard the names 'Alī, Ḥasan, or Ḥusayn. Instead it was always Mu'āwiya, Yazīd or al-Walīd--until he happened on a man he asked for some water. The man called out, 'O Ḥasan give him some water.' The man, very much astonished, asked, 'You named your son Ḥasan?!' The man replied, 'Yes by God, I have named my sons Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and Ja'far. For the Syrians name their sons with the names of God's caliphs and yet we curse our sons. So I decided to call my sons with the names of the enemies of God, so if I curse I curse the enemies of God.' The man said, 'I had thought you were the best of the Syrians but now I know in all of Hell there is no one more evil than you!' At this point al-Ma'mūn commented that God had sent him who would curse their [Umayyads] living, their dead, and those who are still in their father's loins and their mother's wombs--meaning the Shī'a." Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), vol. 4, pp. 1852-1858 [no. 804]; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 4, pp. 291-292 [no. 5897/1546].

[73]It should be noted that we are arguing that the Ḥujr/tribal version found in al-Ṭabarī comes to us from Abū Mikhnaf (on him see previous chapter n. 32). We are not arguing that all those *isnāds* that have Abū Mikhnaf in them, for the Ḥujr story in al-Ṭabarī, are only representations of the Ḥujr/tribal version. In fact there are eight pages of the story in al-Ṭabarī where elements of Ḥujr/tribal are mixed up with Ḥujr/dissident and Ḥujr/martyr and they all go back to one *isnād* at the head of which is Abū Mikhnaf. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 271-279 [135/2-146/2].

[74]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 253.

[75]Compare al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 257-264 [117/2-127/2] with Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, pp. 71-78.

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This is the third element part one; Ziyād's search for Ḥujr, which results in the latter's arrest. In this version, from Abū Mikhnaf, we are given many details as to which tribe Ḥujr escaped to, who allowed him to stay and who did not, which tribes Ziyād used to look for Ḥujr, and which ones he did not. The story begins with Ziyād sending his chief of police to go and bring Ḥujr. After the third attempt, Ziyād orders that each tribe remove its own member from Ḥujr's supporters. Thereafter Ḥujr managed to elude the police and escaped to his tribe of Kinda. Ziyād decides to send people from the tribes of Hamdān, Tamīm, Hawāzin, sons of A'ṣur, Madhḥij, Asad, and Ghaṭfān to go and get Ḥujr. But fearing that a group from Muḍar working together with a group from Yaman could result in friction, Ziyād decided that Tamīm, Hawāzin, sons of A'ṣur, Asad, and Ghaṭfān should stay and Madhḥij and Hamdān go.[76] The story goes on to explain that, of the tribes of Yaman, the tribe of Ḥaḍramūt did not continue because of its special relationship with Kinda--Ḥujr's tribe.[77] Meanwhile the story has Ḥujr move from one house to another trying to escape Ziyād's men. Only when Ziyād threatens Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, and a certain Ḥujr b. Yazīd al-Kindī intercedes for al-Ash'ath promising to get Ḥujr, does Ḥujr b. 'Adī get arrested.[78]

The other part of the tribal/Ḥujr story is that of the witnesses. In the story of the witnesses it is always Abū Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī[79] who is the first to sign his name to the accusation letter. In fact, most of our sources imply that he was the author

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[76]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 260-261 [122/2].

[77]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 261 [122/2].

[78]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 262-264 [123/2-127/2].

[79]For a positive picture see al Mizzī, vol. 33, pp. 66-71 [no. 7220]. He is considered to be a *tābi'ī* and a *faqīh*. He was very reluctant in accepting government service although he was the judge in Kūfa for a number of years. It is also said that Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the governor of Khurāsān, tried very hard to enlist his services, but Abū Burda refused, fearing the moral responsibility of government service. His death date is given as either 103 or 107 A.H. in Kūfa.

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of the accusations that were brought against Ḥujr.[80] In the versions with *isnād*, al-Madā'inī for al-Balādhurī, and Abū Mikhnaf for al-Ṭabarī, it is definitely Abū Burda who authored the accusations.[81] According to al-Madā'inī the accusation against Ḥujr and his friends was that he cursed 'Uthmān and Mu'āwiya and dissociated himself from them. The witnesses were about to sign this accusation when it was indicated that these actions were not enough. At this point Abū Burda stood up and testified that "they removed the caliph, left the majority, called for war, and had become unbelievers."[82] This last part is rendered differently by the Abū Mikhnaf version found in al-Ṭabarī and the *isnād-less* version found in al-Balādhurī. According to both these versions, Ḥujr "disbelieved in God, a bald (in the sense of brazen)[83] act of disbelief" (*wa kafara bi-allāh 'azza wa-jalla kafratan ṣal'ā'*).[84] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd in his *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha* has quite a different take on what is meant by "a bald act of disbelief." He tells us that Abū Burda inherited his father's hate, towards 'Alī, and that is the reason he testified against Ḥujr. He explains[85] that what Abū Burda meant by "a bald act of disbelief" was that he has associated this disbelief to 'Alī, who was bald.[86] Finally,

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[80]Although some of the sources, like Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 242, makes him one amongst others who testified against Ḥujr, yet it is only Abū Burda who is mentioned by name in Ibn al-Jawzī's narrative: "*fa-istashhad 'alayhi jamā'a min ahl miṣrihi, minhum abū burda ibn abī mūsā annahu khala'a al-ṭā'a wa da'ā ilā al-fitna.*" This seems to be an important act by Ibn al-Jawzī since, depending on whether we believe Mizzī's assessment above or Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd below, having only Abū Burda's name pulls us towards a conclusion on Ḥujr's guilt or innocence.

[81]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, pp. 254-255; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 269 [132/2].

[82]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, pp. 254-255.

[83]For the use of the word *aṣla'*, bald, in the sense of clear, brazen, intense, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, eds. 'Abdallāh 'Alī al-Kabīr, Muḥammad Aḥmad Ḥassaballāh, and Hāshim Muḥammad al-Shādhilī (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1981), vol. 4, pp. 2482-2483.

[84]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 254; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 269 [132/2].

[85]Actually it is 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab, from whom he gets the story and the explanation. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab, according to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, is unknown. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 3, p. 498 [no. 4976/625].

[86]Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, vol. 1, pp. 807-808. The exact words of 'Abd al-Raḥmān are: "*innamā 'anā bi-dhālik nasabtu al-kufr ilā 'alī ibn abī ṭālib 'alayhi al-salām, li-*

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Ibn al-Athīr tells us that the witnesses, four in all, among whom was Abū Burda, testified that

> Ḥujr gathered around him people, and openly cursed the caliph, and called for fighting the Commander of the Faithful, and thought that this matter (the caliphate) is only suitable for the family of Abū Ṭālib, and he attacked and kicked out the governor of the Commander of the Faithful, and openly declared the excuse of Abū Turāb on whom he asked for God's mercy.[87]

This particular version has strong similarities to the Ḥujr/dissident versions in that the accusation leveled against Ḥujr has to do with his love for 'Alī. On the other hand, the other witness version clearly sets out to accuse Ḥujr of being an outright rebel, almost a Kharijite. In fact we will see below that in one of the Ḥujr/rebel versions he is accused of being just that, a Kharijite. The tribal element is certainly the most significant element in the above version. It permeates every action taken by either Ḥujr or Ziyād. So much so, that Ziyād does not send one contingent of tribes with another because of the rivalry between the Qays and the Yaman.[88]

The final Ḥujr/tribal version has leading tribal personalities intercede for the lives of their fellow tribesmen with Mu'āwiya. The story, which is found in both al-

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annahu kāna aṣla'." p. 808. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd tells us that of yet another man by the name of 'Ifāq b. Shurahbīl b. Abī Rahm al-Tamīmī was also a witness against Ḥujr, because of an incident during 'Alī's caliphate. Apparently he was beaten for rebuking the people in the Kūfa mosque for following 'Alī's lead in praying against one Yazīd b. Ḥujayya. Yazīd had been with 'Alī at the battle of the Camel, Ṣiffīn, and Nahrawān, then was appointed over al-Rayy and Dastabā, from which he stole the moneys of the treasury; after that he went to Mu'āwiya. See ibid., pp. 456-457, 796-799.

[87]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 78. The text reads: *"fa-shahida ha'ulā' al-nafar anna ḥujr jama'a ilayhi al-jumū', wa-aẓhara shatm al-khalīfa, wa-da'ā ilā ḥarb amīr al-mu'minīn, wa-za'ama anna hādhā al-amr lā yaṣluḥu illā fī āl abī ṭālib, wa-wathaba bi-l-miṣr, wa-akhraja 'āmil amīr al-mū'miīn, wa-aẓhara 'udhr abī turāb wa-al-taraḥḥum 'allayhi,"* It is interesting that he cursed the 'caliph,' while he called for fighting the 'Commander of the Faithful' as if the two labels signified two different functions.

[88]For a discussion on the origins of this rivalry, see Hugh Kennedy "The Origins of the Qays-Yaman Dispute in Bilad al-Sham," *Proceedings of the second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām During the Early Islamic Period up to 40 A.H./640 A.D. The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham* (English and French papers) ed. Muhammad Adnan Bakhit (Amman: Amman University, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 168-174.

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Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī, has each personality's name and tribe, which he was the head of, and for whom he interceded: Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī for Wafā' b. Sumayy and 'Āṣim b. 'Awf;[89] Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī for 'Utba b. al-Akhnas; Ḥamza[90] b. Mālik al-Hamdānī for Sa'īd b. Nimrān; Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī for Ibn Ḥawiyya and al-Arqam.[91] All were released into the custody of these tribal leaders, until Mālik b. Hubayra al-Sakūnī tried to intercede on behalf of Ḥujr. Mu'āwiya, according to the story, would not grant Ḥujr clemency since he is "the head of the group (*qawm*),[92] and he festered and spoiled the encampment, and if I were to give him to you today you would have needed to fight him on the morrow."[93] The above scene reoccurs but with different characters, who represent the 'Companions class,' in our Ḥujr/rebel version.

Ḥujr as a Rebel[94]

As we pointed out above, Ibn Sa'd takes his second and fourth element from this version of the story. Our sources for this version are al-Balādhurī, Ibn 'Asākir and

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[89]In al-Ṭabarī, it is his paternal cousin Yazīd b. Asad al-Bajalī who asks Mu'āwiya for clemency. Both al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī have Jarīr writing to Mu'āwiya asking for clemency for his paternal cousins. They are only named by al-Balādhurī; al-Ṭabarī simply has "my paternal cousins;" see: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 257; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 274 [139/2].

[90]In al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 274 [139/2], his name is Ḥumra b. Mālik al-Hamdānī.

[91]In al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 274 [139/2], Ḥabīb b. Maslama only asks for Ibn Ḥawiyya's life. As For al-Arqam's life, it is Wā'il b. Ḥujr who asks Mu'āwiya for it.

[92]For an interesting look at the use of the term '*qawm*' to denote 'the other' see, Ilai Alon, "'Redding' and 'Blueing' at Ṣiffīn: A Lexical Note," *Israel Oriental Studies*, 14 (1994), pp. 349-369.

[93]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 257; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 274 [139/2-140/2]. Al-Balādhurī's text reads: "*hādhā ra's al-qawm, wa-huwa anghal al-miṣr wa-afsaduhu, wa-la'in wahabtuhu laka al-yawm lataḥtājanna an tuqātilahu ghadan.*" Al-Ṭabarī's text reads: "*inna ibn ibn 'ammika ḥujr ra's al-qawm wa-akhāfu in khallaytu sabīlahu an yufsid 'alayya miṣrī, fa-yaḍṭarrunā ghadan ilā an nushkhiṣaka wa-aṣḥābaka ilayhi bi-al-'irāq.*"

[94]Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī (d. 543 A.H.), seems to believe that Ḥujr was indeed a rebel and had to be dealt with as such. See his *al-'Awāṣim min al-qawāṣim*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, 2nd ed (Qatar: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1989), pp. 191-193.

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Ibn Kathīr. In al-Balādhurī the Ḥujr/rebel version with an *isnād* comes to us from two sources (see Figure 3.5):[95] Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī,[96] and Abū Khaythama.[97]

This version starts with Ḥujr and Ziyād conversing with each other, which establishes for us the tone for the rest of the story. Here Ziyād, according to the narrators, had been kind to Ḥujr and in the spirit of this generosity wanted to take Ḥujr with him to Baṣra. Ziyād's argument vis-à-vis 'Alī and Mu'āwiya is predestinarian.[98] Ziyād told Ḥujr, "I know your opinion of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; I previously held the same opinion. But when I saw that God had taken away his authority in favor of Mu'āwiya, I accepted and did not question God's judgment."[99] Ziyād neither criticizes 'Alī nor does he praise Mu'āwiya's rule; he simply puts it all in the hands of God. Once the argument is put forward that it was God Who has decided that Mu'āwiya was to rule and 'Alī, and by extension his followers were not, then any argument to the contrary would be going against God's Will. It is not surprising then that Ḥujr does not

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[95]Al-Dawraqī and Abū Khaythama (on them see below n. 96 and 97), transmitted from Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim b. Zayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Azdī (d. 206. A.H.). He is a Baṣran. Al-Mizzī, vol. 31, pp. 121-125 [no. 6753]. He transmitted from his father Jarīr b. Ḥāzim (d. 170 A.H.), who is also a Baṣran. Al-Mizzī, vol. 4, pp. 524-531 [no. 913]. He transmitted from Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī (death date unknown), who is also a Baṣran, and is considered weak in *ḥadīth* transmission. Al-Mizzī, vol. 24, pp. 211-212 [no. 5219]. He transmitted it from a *mawlā* of Ziyād b. Abīh by the name of Fīl. See Figure 3.5 at the end of this chapter.

[96]He is Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Kathīr b. Zayd al-Dawraqī (d. 246 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 1, pp. 245-252 [no. 3].

[97]Abū Khyathama's name is Zuhayr b. Ḥarb b. Shaddād al-Ḥarashī (d. 234 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 9, pp. 402-406 [no. 2010].

[98]See how al-Ya'qūbī also uses the same predestinarian argument albeit in a very different fashion in the next note.

[99]Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 271. The text reads: "*qad 'alimtu ra'yaka fī 'alī ibn abī ṭālib, wa qad kāna ra'yī fīhi qablaka 'alā mithli dhālik, fa-lammā ra'aytu allāh ṣarafa al-amr 'anhu ilā mu'āwiya lam attahim qaḍā' allāh wa raḍaytu bihi.*" This story takes a totally different twist in al-Ya'qūbī. There, Ziyād argues that it was God's Will that changed his allegiance from 'Alī to Mu'āwiya. But unlike Ziyād's argument in al-Balādhurī, the change was not that God chose Mu'āwiya over 'Alī; it was that God changed Ziyād's heart. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, pp. 218-219. The exact words are: "*thumma qāla lahu yā ḥujr ara'ayt mā kuntu 'alayhi min al-maḥabba wa-al-muwālā li-'alī qāla na'am qāla fa-inna allāh qad ḥawwala dhālik baghḍatan wa-'adāwatan, awa ra'ayt mā kuntu 'alayhi min al-baghḍati wa-al-'adāwati li-mu'āwiya qāla na'am, qāla fa-inna allāh qad ḥawala dhālik maḥabatan wa-mawālātan.*"

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respond to the argument, but simply states that he is too sick to go with Ziyād to Baṣra. At this point Ziyād tells him that he is not only sick of body, but of mind (*al-'aql*), heart (*al-qalb*), and religion (*al-dīn*).[100] The story moves on to the second element which in this version eliminates any indication of Ḥujr having been wronged or that he was a quietist; rather it puts the blame entirely on Ḥujr and his followers. It states that Ḥujr and his followers[101] refused to follow any of Ziyād's deputy's orders. After Ziyād returned Ḥujr is eventually arrested and sent to Mu'āwiya. Ziyād wrote to Mu'āwiya and asked him to remove Ḥujr so that he may be able to govern. Ḥujr and his friends are killed in 'Adhrā'.[102] There is no mention of who executed them, how many were executed, and how many, if any were saved. It simply states that Ḥujr and his friends were killed.

Ibn 'Asākir's version of the Ḥujr/rebel concentrates on the third element part two, that is Mu'āwiya deciding what to do with Ḥujr while the latter is at Marj 'Adhrā'. Ibn Kathīr has a very concise version of this story. It consists of only a couple of short sentences stating that Mu'āwiya asked for advice before he sentenced Ḥujr and his friends to death. Some advised him to kill them, others to exile them. So Mu'āwiya asked Ziyād, who points out that if Mu'āwiya wants to keep his rule over Kūfa he had better kill them.[103] The Ibn 'Asākir version (see Figures 3.6 and 3.7)[104] is much more detailed.

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[100] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 271.

[101] For some reason the narrators of this version call Ḥujr's followers *qurrā'*. In another story, with no *isnād*, Ziyād uses the word *saba'iyya* to describe Ḥujr's friends. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 254, 271. In a letter to Mu'āwiya, Ziyād tells him that Ḥujr is the head of the Turābiyya al-Saba'iyya (*al-turrābiyya al-saba'iyya, ra'sahum ḥujr ibn 'adī*); al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 5, p. 272 [136/2].

[102] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 271

[103] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 54. Mu'āwiya here is acting like the perfect Arab shaykh.

[104] Although Figure 3.7 is much more detailed than Figure 3.6, our only interest are the two names: Ismā'īl b. 'Ayyāsh and Shuraḥbīl b. Muslim al-Khawlānī who appear in both *isnāds*, since

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This story[105] is unique, another "time-bomb" if you will, from Ibn 'Asākir. It has Mu'āwiya, after praying the afternoon prayer,[106] consult a number of his men on the matter of Ḥujr. The name of a certain person would be called out and this person would stand up, give his assessment and then would sit down. This routine goes on until four people give their opinions. The first of these people is 'Amr b. al-Aswad al-'Ansī, who suggests that Mu'āwiya knows the people of Iraq better than they know themselves and quotes the latter part of Qur'ān 2:285.[107] Mu'āwiya then tells the congregation that 'Amr has left the matter in his hands.[108] At which point the name Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī is called out. He tells Mu'āwiya and the congregation:

> We have never hated you since we have loved you, never disobeyed you since we obeyed you, never left you since we joined you, and never violated our oath of allegiance to you since we gave it. Our swords are on our shoulders: if you order us we will obey and if you call us we will heed.[109]

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both of them transmitted the story. Ismā'īl b. 'Ayyāsh b. Sulaym al-'Ansī (d. 181 or 182 A.H.) is from Ḥimṣ. Al-Mizzī, vol. 3, pp. 163-182 [no. 472]; Shuraḥbīl b. Muslim b. Ḥāmid al-Khawlānī (death date unknown) is a Syrian. One interesting bit of information about him is that he was old when he was circumcised sometime during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. Al-Mizzī, vol. 12, pp. 430-431 [no. 1721].

[105]Preceding this story is a very short version of the same story, which we need not analyze. In this version, instead of four only one person gives his opinion. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, p. 223.

[106]Mu'āwiya praying!

[107]"We hear and obey, Grant us Your forgiveness, Lord; to You shall all return." Qur'ān 2: 285.

[108]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, pp. 223-224. He is 'Amr, or 'Umayr, b. al-Aswad al-'Ansī al-Ḥimṣī. Ibn 'Asākir does not consider him a Companion nor is he strictly a *tabi'ī*; but right in between. And although Ibn al-Athīr has him as a Companion he also expresses his doubts. He was appointed by Mu'āwiya as judge of Ḥimṣ. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 45, pp. 407-418 [5313]; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 192 [no. 3852].

[109]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12,p. 224. His name is 'Abdallāh b. Thuwab or 'Awf. Like the above personality he is mentioned in the compendiums of the Companions but he never met the Prophet. He converted to Islam but arrived in Medina right after the death of the Prophet. He fought with Mu'āwiya at Ṣiffīn. He is said to have led the contingent of the Syrian *qurrā'* and went to 'Alī asking him for the killers of 'Uthmān. 'Alī told him that he would give him an answer the next morning. Before 'Alī came out, most of the Shī'a (the word is used by the author) had donned their weapons and filled the mosque and like, in the movie *Spartacus*, they all started

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'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Shar'abī was next. He told Mu'āwiya, "O Commander of the Faithful, as for this band from the people of Iraq, if you punish them you will be right and if you forgive them you will be righteous."[110] The last name to be called was that of 'Abdallāh b. Asad al-Qushayrī who stood up and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, your flock, your subjects, and the people of your obedience, if you punish them, they have brought this punishment upon themselves, and if you forgive them for forgiveness is closer to piety, Oh Commander of the Faithful."[111] The narrator then tells us that after this, "some were killed and others were spared, and among those killed was Ḥujr b. 'Adī b. al-Adbar."[112]

There is another story which is more of a commentary, stemming from the same sources (see Figure 3.6). Ismā'īl b. 'Ayyāsh asks Shurahbīl: "What was the story behind Ḥujr and his friends?" He answers: "They found a letter from them to Abū

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shouting: "We all killed 'Uthmān." Thereupon Abū Muslim went in on 'Alī and told him he, 'Alī, seems not to have any control over his people since upon hearing that 'Alī is going to hand over the killers of 'Uthmān they have taken over the mosque and are claiming that they all killed 'Uthmān. At this 'Alī replies, "I thought about this matter, and I see no reason for me to hand them [the killers of 'Uthmān] over to you." Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, pp. 85-86; There is also a legend attached to Abū Muslim, which says how he was thrown in a fiery pit because of his conversion to Islām, but, like Abraham, he was not hurt. He is said to have died while on an expedition against the Byzantines in 62 A.H. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 192 [no. 2850]; vol. 6, pp. 288-289 [no. 6247]; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 4, pp. 7-14 [no. 2].

[110]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, p. 224. He is better known as 'Abdallāh b. Makhmar, although he is found under both names. He is considered a Companion. And, according to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, he is known for asking Mu'āwiya to forgive Ḥujr. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 378 [no. 3168], p. 381 [no. 3172]; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. 5, pp. 207-208 [no. 6637], p. 209 [no. 6639].

[111]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, p. 224. 'Abdallāh b. Asad al-Qushayrī is not known. Although there is one 'Abdallāh b. Ḍamra b. Mālik b. Salma b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā al-Bajalī, he is a Baṣran. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, vol. 4, pp. 134-135 [no. 4770].

[112]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, p. 224.

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Bilāl[113] that Muḥammad[114] and his Companions fought them over the revelation so you fight them over the interpretation."[115] The linking of Ḥujr to a Kharijite leader is unique to this story. The last line is found in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* in the form of a poem that was supposedly recited by 'Ammār b. Yāsir during the battle of Ṣiffīn.[116]

Conclusion

It is clear from our findings that the most positive version of the Ḥujr story vis-à-vis Mu'āwiya is the Ḥujr/rebel version, and the most negative versions are the Ḥujr/dissident and the Ḥujr/martyr version. As for the Ḥujr/tribal version it is negative in its implications towards those tribes and other men who participated in the arrest of Ḥujr. Mu'āwiya in this version acts as a tribal chief, a first amongst equals. He listens and grants dispensation to the other tribal chiefs when it comes to their fellow

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[113]This is in reference to the Khārijī Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayya, who was killed in 61 A.H. after he rebelled against the then governor of Baṣra, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. What makes the above connection between him and Ḥujr more probable is that although he was one of those who left 'Alī after he agreed to the arbitration and fought against him at Nahrawān, he did not hold typical Khārijī views. He spent most of his life as a quietist, and disagreed with the other Kharijites on the question of armed insurrection, participation of women in war, and on the killing of non-Khārijī Muslims (*isti'rāḍ*). He finally rebelled after seeing a woman, who held Khārijī views, executed by 'Ubaydallāh. What supports the story above are Lévi Della Vida's words that "the Mu'tazilīs held that Mirdās had only rebelled under compulsion (*munkir*^{an}) and the Shī'īs even denied that he was a true Khāridji . . ." p. 123. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, pp. 180-186; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 470-471 [390/2-392/2]; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, pp. 110-112, on his ideas, on his death see: pp. 196-197; G. Lévi Della Vida, "Mirdās" *E.I.*^{2} vol. 7, pp. 123-124.

[114]This is the Prophet Muḥammad. It is interesting that there is no epitaph after the name. Is this just a stylistic mistake, or is it a further derogatory remark against Ḥujr and his friends?

[115]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 12, p. 220.

[116]The poem reads as follows:

naḥnu ḍarbnākum 'alā tanzīlihī
fa-l-yawma naḍribukum 'alā ta'wīlihī
ḍarban yuzīlu l-hāma 'an maqīlihī
wa-yudhhilu l-khalīla 'an khalīlihī
aw yarji'u l-ḥaqqu ilā sabīlihī

The poem is found in both Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 341; and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 391. In the latter reference, before the poem, 'Ammār says of the Syrians, "We are now fighting them on its [the Qur'ān's] interpretation as we used to fight on its revelation." (*la-nuqātilannahum 'alā ta'wīlihi kamā qātalnāhum 'alā tanzīlihī*).

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tribesmen. Our sources have utilized some versions while neglecting others for reasons that are not clear. We can argue that al-Balādhurī and Ibn Kathīr both felt that the Ḥujr/martyr version is untrue because they indicated so in their opinion of the face to face meeting between Ḥujr and Mu'āwiya. This part of the Ḥujr/martyr version is essential and unique to this version. It establishes for us that Ḥujr was still on his oath of allegiance and still recognized that Mu'āwiya was the Commander of the Faithful since he uses the title in addressing Mu'āwiya. Thus, when Mu'āwiya simply orders that his head to be cut off right after this exchange, we are astounded by the heartlessness of Mu'āwiya the despot. In fact we are not surprised that Ḥujr died a martyr since we are not given any good reason for Mu'āwiya's anger. As we noted above, it is also helpful on the part of our Baṣran sources that Ḥujr, at his execution, does and says exactly the same thing as Khubayb b. 'Adī.

As for the Ḥujr/dissident version, which is the version most used by our sources, we are told why Mu'āwiya hated and executed Ḥujr and his friends. The story from the beginning, whether in its shortest form found in Ibn A'tham and al-Mas'ūdī or in its lengthiest found in al-Balādhurī, tells us that the problem between Ḥujr and Mu'āwiya was 'Alī. That is, it was Ḥujr's love of 'Alī which angered Ziyād, it was this love that got him in trouble, and finally it was the only reason for his execution. This still holds whether through the accusation by Ziyād that Ḥujr and his followers refused to curse 'Alī as was the "norm," or the executioner's deal, that if the prisoners would curse 'Alī they would be spared. Thus, Ḥujr and six or seven of his followers refused to curse 'Alī and were executed, and six or seven cursed 'Alī and were spared. This point is as essential to the Ḥujr/dissident version as was the meeting and Khubayb's word were for the Ḥujr/martyr story. In fact Ibn Qutayba helps us understand this latter point even better in his short passage on Ḥujr. The story of Ḥujr's execution occurs in the chapter on "War," the section on "Good and Bad

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Omens." Ibn Qutayba utilizes the execution scene of Ḥujr to illustrate an example of omens. The executioner was one-eyed, so the prisoners took it as a sign that only half of them would be killed. This indeed was the case, since the one-eyed executioner was followed by a messenger pardoning everyone, but it was too late for half of the prisoners, among whom was Ḥujr.[117] The important part is not the omen but rather the point that half were saved, which tells us that Mu'āwiya was about to pardon all of the prisoners. Now because of the short period of time between the executioner and the second messenger, we can conclude that for Ibn Qutayba, at least, it was not about whether the prisoners did something (i.e., curse 'Alī) that spared their lives, but rather it was Mu'āwiya's orders. In fact this action, the sparing of the lives, plays a prominent role in Ḥujr/tribal and Ḥujr rebel version. In the Ḥujr/tribal version it acts as background to the importance of tribal allegiance vs. "state" security.

Mu'āwiya is ready to spare all those whose tribal leaders are willing to take them except for Ḥujr. It is not a question of sparing because these prisoners did what they were asked, that is curse 'Alī, nor is it because Mu'āwiya was about to spare all of them. Instead, we have a story of several tribal leaders asking for clemency for their fellow tribesmen. Mu'āwiya only refuses the request of Mālik b. Hubayra al-Sakūnī since he felt that Ḥujr could not be controlled by his tribal leader. In fact Mu'āwiya, in the Ḥujr/tribal version, acts as a tribal chief among other tribal chiefs, first among equals, by granting and respecting their requests to spare the lives of their fellows. When it comes to Ḥujr, Mu'āwiya becomes the "state," in that for "national security" Ḥujr had to be dealt with immediately, as his potential for trouble is greater than disappointing a fellow tribal chief.[118] This whole point of intercession by the tribal

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[117]Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 1, p. 147.

[118]In fact, Mu'āwiya does get back in Malik's good graces by giving him 100,000 dirhams, with the above explanation on Ḥujr's propensity for trouble. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 5, p. 278 [144/2-145/2].

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chiefs is turned into the acceptance of the Prophet's Companions' advice in the Ḥujr/rebel version.

In the Ḥujr/rebel version, the scene where Mu'āwiya asks the advice of the congregation and four, three of which we know to be Companions of the Prophet, give their opinions is the axis on which the objective of the story turns. It is not surprising that we find this story only in Ibn 'Asākir, because of its extremely positive attitude towards Mu'āwiya.[119] By having Mu'āwiya seek advice from the Companions of the Prophet rather than the tribal chiefs, his image changes immediately in our eyes. The image of Mu'āwiya in the Ḥujr/tribal version connects with the *jāhiliyya* while his image in the Ḥujr/rebel version is of a Muslim ruler seeking opinions from those who should matter, the Companions of the Prophet. This story is not unlike another that we already came across in the second chapter. We are referring here to Mu'āwiya/brave in the conquest of Cyprus. There, too, he consults with the Companions of the Prophet before he divides the booty.

In the next chapter we shall look at the depiction of Mu'āwiya's efforts to appoint his son Yazīd as his heir, which also wavers between the Arab-shaykh and the despot. There are also debates on the caliphate between the personalities involved in the *bay'a* to Yazīd, to which we will pay close attention.

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[119]Just the fact that there were Companions in the company of Mu'āwiya is sufficient to make us take a closer look at the story.

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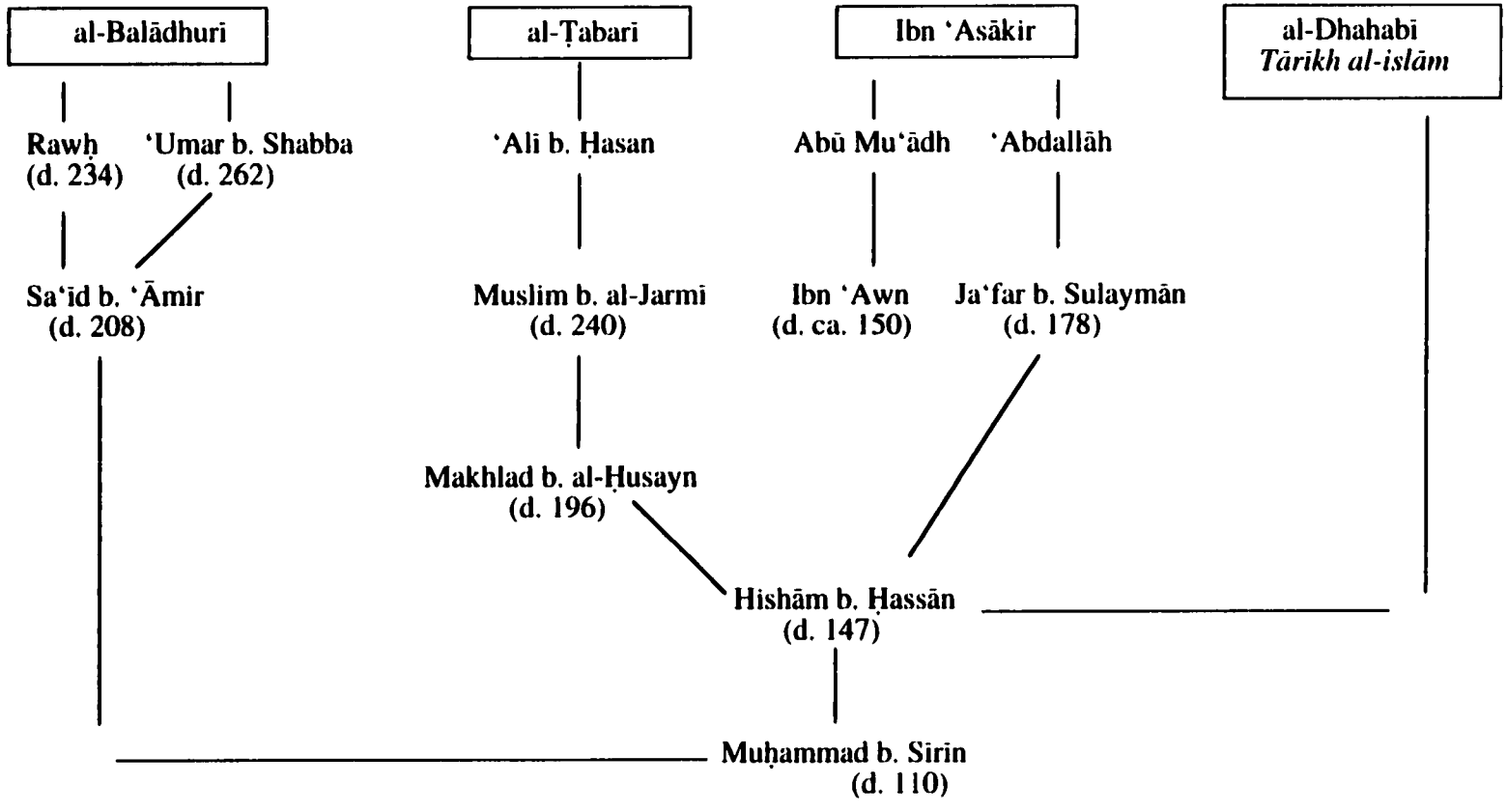

Figure 3.1 The Ḥujr Martyr *isnād*.

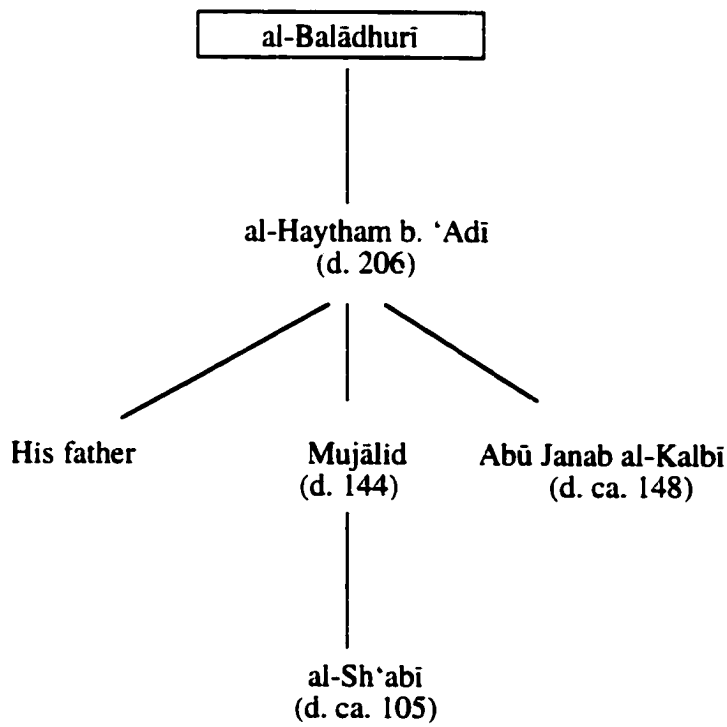

Figure 3.2 The Ḥujr Dissident *isnād*.

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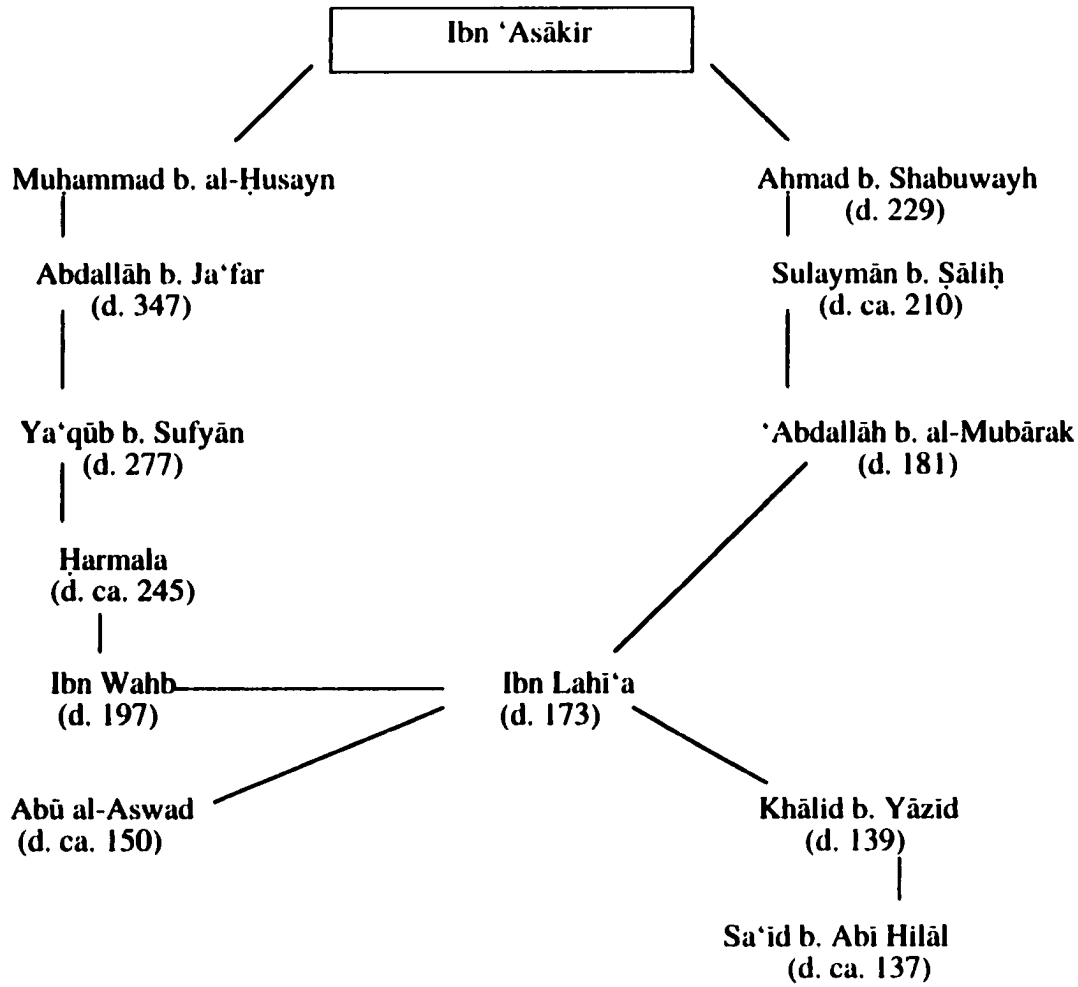

Figure 3.3 The *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd isnād* one.

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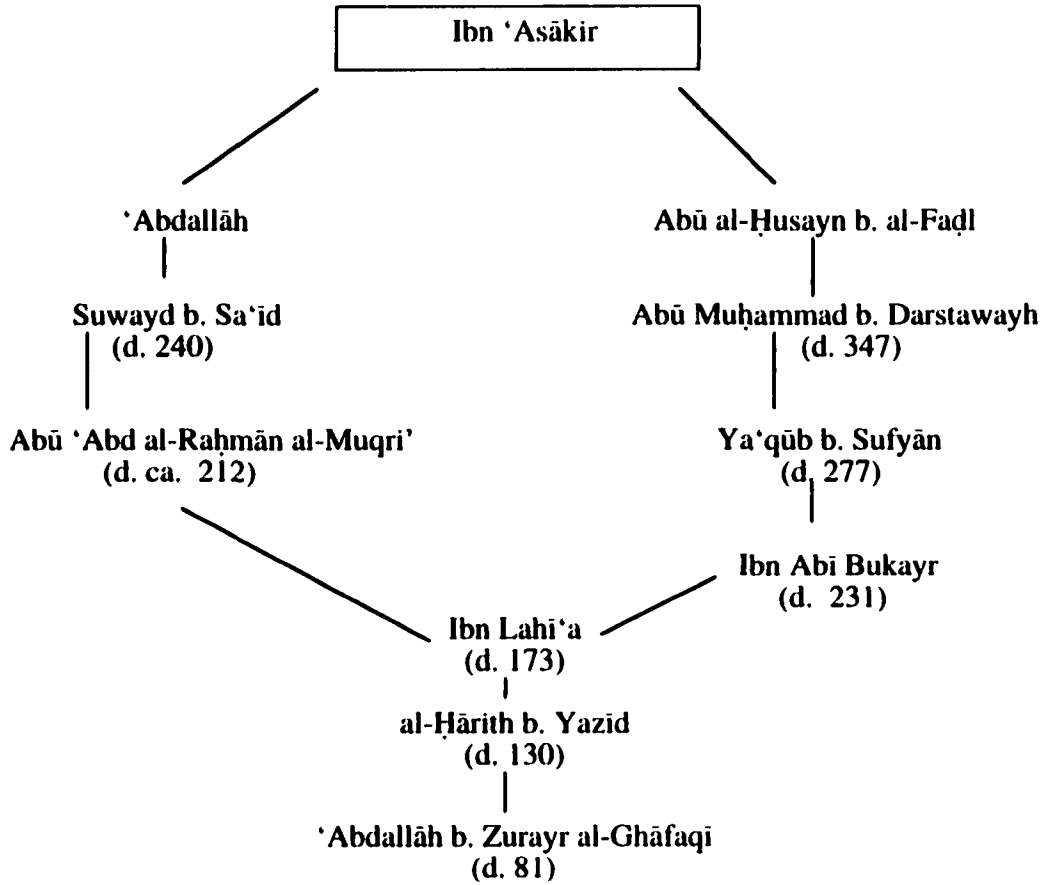

Figure 3.4 The *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd isnād* two.

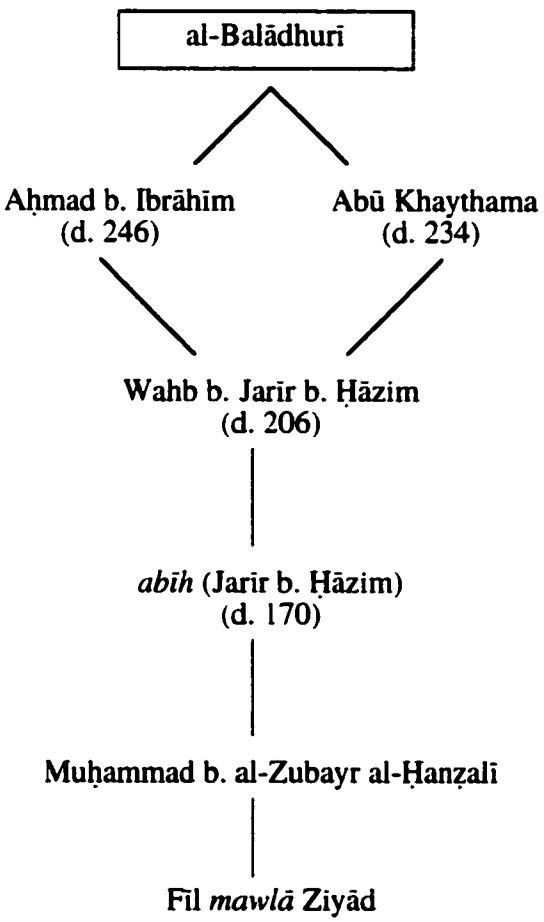

Figure 3.5 The Ḥujr Rebel *isnād* one.

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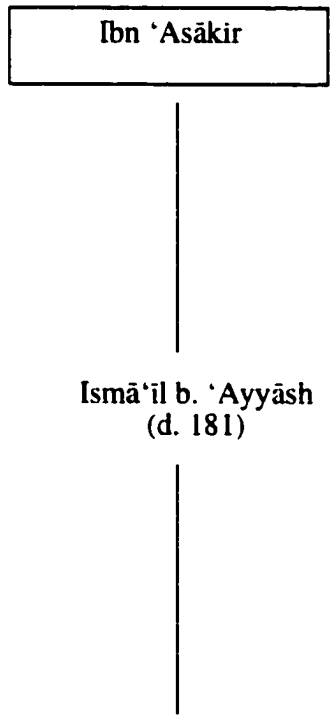

Figure 3.6 The Ḥujr Rebel *isnād* two.

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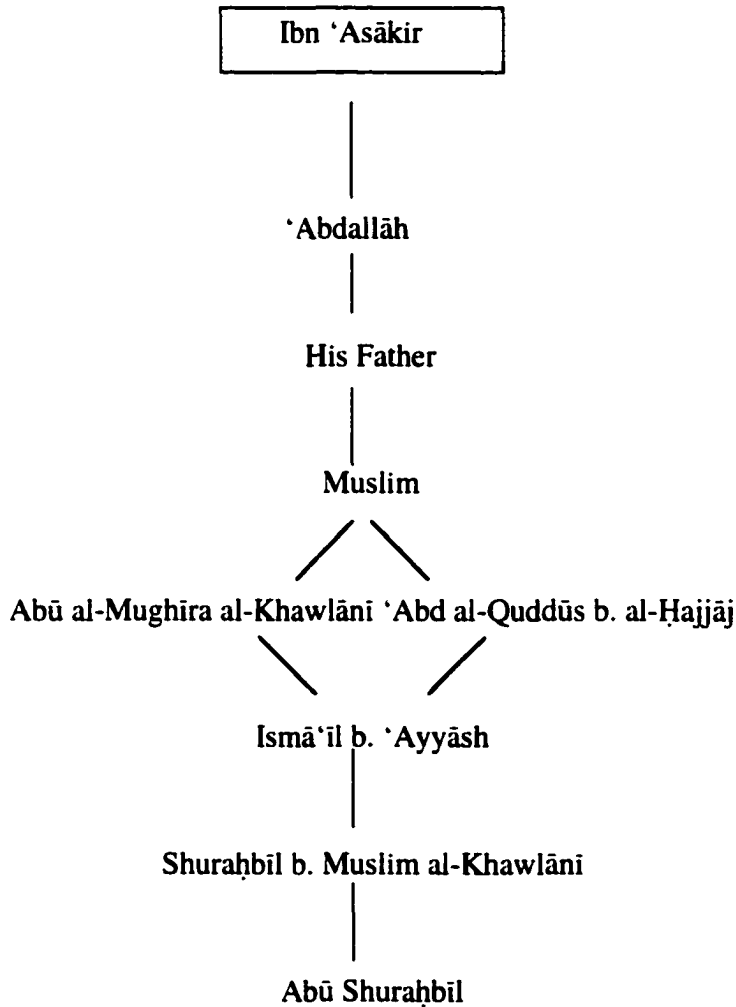

Figure 3.7 The Ḥujr Rebel *isnād* three.

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CHAPTER 5

POST-CIVIL WAR MU'ĀWIYA: THE ARAB-SHAYKH AND THE DESPOT IN THE APPOINTMENT OF YAZĪD

In this chapter, like the previous chapter on Ḥujr, the depiction of Yazīd's appointment is shaped by the desires of the sources from which historians chose to include material in their narratives. Unlike the Ḥujr story, in which each narrative's source carried a different point of view, in the appointment of Yazīd within each narrative's source there are several point of views. What is meant here is that the narrators of our story are able to have not only the sequence of events transmit to us a certain point of view; they also have each main character represent a different political view. Thus we find that al-Ḥusayn, in his discussions with Mu'āwiya on Yazīd's right to the caliphate, represents a very polished Shī'ī understanding of the caliphate, one that certainly represents the middle of the second Islamic century rather than the middle of the first. This is true of most of the characters, except for Mu'āwiya, who we will find has differing ideas for each narrative, ones that may or may not represent Umayyad political ideology.

Yazīd's appointment, much like the killing of Ḥujr, has become an important and highly charged incident because of later redactions. What we mean is that, for Yazīd, it was not so much that he was the son that followed the father (people forget that al-Ḥasan followed 'Alī), but it is the fact that he ruled when al-Ḥusayn was killed.[1]

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[1]There is a great quote from Abū al-Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī which goes as follows "An ignoramus was asked: 'What do you say about Mu'āwiya?' He replied: 'May god have mercy on his soul and be pleased with him.' 'So what do you say about his son Yazīd?' He said: ' I say may God curse him and his parents' (*qīla li-ba'ḍ al-mughaffalīn: mā taqūlu fī mu'āwiya? qāla: raḥimahu allāh wa-raḍiya*

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We will show that the real purpose of the story of the *bay'a* to Yazīd was as much an attempt to explain the loss of the Ḥijāz and its residents' loss of the power to elect the caliph, as it was to explain the action or inaction of the elite in Medina, especially 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. It is not of prime importance how the appointment was made or when it came about, but rather who gave or did not give the *bay'a* to Yazīd.

Secondary Sources

The *bay'a* to Yazīd is very much accepted by the secondary sources as having taken place much the same way as it is reported in our narratives. However, very few, maybe one, of our modern scholars view the narratives as an attempt by the narrators to explain the loss of the Ḥijāz and the ascendancy of Syria in the election of the caliph, nor do they think that these narratives were also an attempt at explaining the actions of such figures as 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. Most modern scholars conclude that the *bay'a* to Yazīd was the logical extension of the rise to power of Mu'āwiya and the Syrians.[2] One scholar, Hawting, points out that this episode, the appointment of Yazīd, was an expression of Mu'āwiya, not as a despot, but as consummate Arab-shaykh in that he used his *ḥilm* (forbearance) to convince others to accept Yazīd.[3] Kennedy points out that those who opposed the appointment of Yazīd did so because they felt their region was being excluded in favor of Syria.[4] Although he is on the right track, he is mistaken in that he feels that there was an outcry from all the provinces and from all the political spectrums including other Umayyads in Mecca.

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[2]Shaban, *Islamic History* I, pp. 90-91; Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 219; Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, p. 88.

[3]Hawting, *The First Muslim Dynasty*, p. 43.

[4]Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, pp. 88-89.

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We will show that it was only Medina and only the recalcitrant four that had objections to Syrian hegemony over the appointment of the caliph.

Modern Arab scholars are for the most part in agreement that the appointment of Yazīd was a questionable but necessary act.[5] That is, they take Ibn Khaldūn's theory of *'aṣabiyya* as the prime mover for Mu'āwiya's choice to appoint his son as heir apparent. Amongst those who argue for *'aṣabīya* we can add those who feel that had Mu'āwiya made any other choice there would have been immediate civil strife.[6] There are those, like al-Najjār, who point out that Mu'āwiya certainly had a choice. Al-Najjār tells us that Mu'āwiya could have certainly found among the Umayyads someone better than Yazīd.[7] Many of the above scholars conclude that 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and al-Ḥusayn, from amongst the elite, did not give the *bay'a*.[8]

This story, the appointment of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya as heir apparent, consists of five elements:

1) How Mu'āwiya came upon the idea of appointing Yazīd.

2) Mu'āwiya's seeking of advice about the appointment of Yazīd from his governor, by that time his half-brother Ziyād.

3) Mu'āwiya's setting out for the Ḥijāz after the death of Ziyād and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, to get the oath of allegiance from the Meccans and the people of Medina, especially the recalcitrant five. These five (most often they are four), are 'Abdallāh b.

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[5]For the most thorough investigation of Arabic secondary sources' opinions on the appointment of Yazīd, see Ḥusayn 'Aṭwān, *Niẓām wilāyat al-'ahd wa wirāthat al-khilāfa fī al-'aṣr al-Umawī* (Beirut, Dār al-Jīl, 1991), esp. pp. 40-43.

[6]Muḥammad Suhayl Ṭaqqūsh, *Tārīkh al-dawla al-Umawiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1996), pp. 22-23; al-Wakīl, *al-Umawayyūn bayn al-sharq wa al-gharb*, pp. 187-190.

[7]Al-Najjār, *Al-Dawla al-Umawiyya fī al-sharq*, pp. 44-45.

[8]Ṭaqqūsh, *Tārīkh al-dawla al-Umawiyya*, pp. 25-26. It should be noted that this particular author adds the name of 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib to the sons of the leading companions who were opposed to Yazīd's nomination.

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ʿUmar, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, al-Ḥusayn, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās.

4) Muʿāwiya on his death bed, either directly giving advice to his son Yazīd, or to one of his subordinates to tell his son, who is off hunting.

5) After the death of Muʿāwiya Yazīd's first order of business as caliph. We will focus on the first and third elements of the story, as we find them to be the most important elements, and refer to the other elements from time to time in our analysis.

We believe that the first element essentially sets up the story. It serves the same purpose as the story of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and his two sons, discussed in chapter 3, that is to establish a "proper" understanding of Muʿāwiya's decision to appoint his son as heir apparent. The third element, the getting of the *bayʿa* from the recalcitrant four (or five) can be further divided into sub-elements, each of which serves a different purpose. The first, sub-element A, is the general purpose of the story which is found in three different views, a Ḥijāz view, Ḥijāz vs. Syrian view, and finally a Syrocentric point of view.[9] The purpose of the second sub-element (B) is to answer whether the recalcitrant four gave the *bayʿa*. Just as there are three points of view for sub-element A, there are also three answers for sub-element B. The depiction of Muʿāwiya in these stories wavers between an Arab-shaykh and a despot as in the Ḥujr story. We will indicate which depiction is expressed in the body of our work on each story. We are first going to look at the set-up story. In its earliest form the set-up story is found in al-Yaʿqūbī.

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[9]Most of our sources separate the Ḥijāz-centric story from the Ḥijāz vs. Syrocentric one; the two exceptions are Ibn Aʿtham and Ibn al-Athīr who most probably thought it expedient and logical to combine both. See Ibn Aʿtham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 235-248; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, pp. 101-104.

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The Set-up

One of the most peculiar aspects of the story is the first element, how Mu'āwiya came to the decision to appoint his own son. We are told that it was al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, or in the case of one source 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ,[10] who suggested to Mu'āwiya that he appoint his son Yazīd as heir apparent. Our earliest source for this element as stated above is al-Ya'qūbī. According to al-Ya'qūbī, after al-Mughīra left his post in Kūfa he became jealous when he saw the people's enthusiastic reaction to the new governor, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz.[11] In order to get his position back he devised a "diabolical" plan, one that, according to al-Mughīra, would "put Mu'āwiya's foot in such a hole that nothing will get it out except bloodshed" (*waḍa'tu rijla mu'āwiya fī ghurzin lā yukhrijuhā minhu illā safk al-dimā'*).[12] Al-Mughīra is here referring to the appointment of Mu'āwiya's son Yazīd as heir apparent. As in the story of 'Amr and his two sons, here the main idea that the story is trying to convey remains the same but the words change from author to author. Thus we find that Ibn al-Athīr has the same idea in his story as Ya'qūbī but the wording is slightly different. "I have put Mu'āwiya's foot in a stirrup [whose destination] is far away from the desire of Muḥammad's community. And I have torn a hole that will never be sewn" (*laqad waḍa'tu rijla*

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[10]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 205-206. This story is linked to the death of al-Ḥasan. Our sources indicate that al-Ḥasan died after 49 A.H., and 'Amr died no later than 44 A.H. So the story that 'Amr was the one who suggested to Mu'āwiya to appoint Yazīd is not very convincing. There is one apocryphal story about 'Amr being alive after the death of Mu'āwiya. It goes: "Mu'āwiya told his son, 'When you bury me make 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ enter my grave and ask him to be the one to lay me to rest. When he is doing that you go out to the entrance of my grave and unsheathe your sword and order him to give you the *bay'a*. If he does not, bury him with me.' So Yazīd did what Mu'āwiya asked him to do, and when 'Amr saw the sword he gave the *bay'a* to Yazīd and said: ' O! Yazīd, this is the work of the owner of the hole and not you." Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir wa-al-dhakhā'ir*, vol. 6, p. 216.

[11]Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 209. Al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr have the governor be Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ; see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 302 [173/2]; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 97.

[12]Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 209.

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mu'āwiya fī ghurzin ba'īd al-ghāya 'alā ummati muḥammad, wa-fataqtu 'alayhim fatqan lā yurtaqu abadan)[13] (It seems as if al-Mughīra is speaking about Muḥammad's community as an other, separate from himself). The last half of this saying is important, and its importance is realized when we look at the versions found in Ibn 'Asākir, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr. Ibn 'Asākir has al-Mughīra say: "I have put both of Mu'āwiya's feet in a stirrup that is long in its misguidance to Muḥammad's community-" (*laqad waḍa'tu rijlay mu'āwiya fī ghurzin ṭawīlin ghayyuhu* [*'alā*] *ummati muḥammad*).[14] By dropping the last part Ibn 'Asākir has toned down al-Mughīra's words. We can also argue that in Ibn 'Asākir, al-Mughīra referred to the hereditary nature of the caliphate rather than to the son himself. Al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr, who probably understood the negative implication of al-Mughīra's words, lack both lines.[15] After the suggestion, Mu'āwiya reinstates al-Mughīra and tells him that he should continue the work which he began, which is to convince the Kūfans to accept Yazīd as the next caliph.

In the second element Mu'āwiya writes to Ziyād and asks him to get the Baṣrans to give the *bay'a* for Yazīd. In al-Ya'qūbī's narrative this story also plays the role of the set up. But this time it is the set up for the third element, sub-element B, the reaction of the recalcitrant four. Ziyād, upon receiving Mu'āwiya's letter seeks council from a trusted friend, who is not named. This person tells Ziyād,

> How can we appoint someone like Yazīd who plays with monkeys and dogs and is addicted to alcohol?! The idea of his being caliph is even harder to accept

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[13]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 98

[14]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 65, p. 410

[15]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 302 [174/2]; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 82.

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when there are better people than him, namely al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar.[16]

Here al-Yaʿqūbī lets us know that even trusted friends of the Umayyads' governors knew and felt that there were better people than Yazīd, namely the recalcitrant four. When we meet this story in al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Jawzī, or Ibn al-Athīr, the story completely loses its purpose. In these narratives the person Ziyād asks for advice is named[17] and he is a little less harsh than the unnamed person in al-Yaʿqūbī's story. He does not mention monkeys or wine; he simply points out that Yazīd is neglectful and given to hunting. There is also the notion that given time he can be reformed. More importantly there is no mention of the recalcitrant four.[18] Ibn Aʿtham, on the other hand, keeps the story of Muʿāwiya seeking advice as the set up for element three, sub-element A.

In Ibn Aʿtham's narrative Muʿāwiya's seeking advice is not confined to Ziyād. Ibn Aʿtham has Muʿāwiya asking a number of his governors their opinion on Yazīd being appointed heir apparent. These governors are Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir. They all tell him to be patient and not to proceed until he asks the people of Medina. This was the reason for Yazīd going on pilgrimage that year and distributing lots of money to the people of Mecca and Medina.[19] Thus Ibn Aʿtham

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[16]Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 210. It is interesting that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās is included as a potential candidate, he is usually not listed, and that there is no mention of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr who is always mentioned as one of the recalcitrant four in other narratives.

[17]His name is ʿUbayd b. Kaʿb al-Numayrī. He is not known, and most of our information on him deals with the above incident. See Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 38, pp. 211-213 [no. 4530].

[18]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 302-303 [174/2]; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 285; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 99; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 82.

[19]Ibn Aʿtham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 224-225. Ibn Aʿtham does not give us the date of Yazīd's pilgrimage. It could be any year after al-Ḥasan's death since Ibn Aʿtham also does not mention that Yazīd led the pilgrimage. He simply states that he went on pilgrimage: "*wa ḥajja yazīd fī tilka al-sanna* " p. 225. Yazīd is not mentioned as leading the pilgrimage by any of our sources. Yet in the

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has the advice of the governors, who happen to be important members of the Umayyad clan, convey the notion of Medina (in the Ḥijāz) and its people as essential in the selection of the caliph. Having been properly introduced to the problem, that the caliph cannot be elected without the approval of Medina and the recalcitrant four, we now can embark on the solution.

The Hijāz-Centric Version

This version[20] comes to us from our old friend Juwayriya b. Asmā'.[21] The story has Mu'āwiya leave for the pilgrimage and as he approaches Mecca he meets with the recalcitrant four.[22] He meets al-Ḥusayn first and greets him with the following: "Welcome, O son of the daughter of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, the master of the Muslim youth"(*marḥaban wa ahlan yā ibn bint rasūl allāh, ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama, sayyid shabāb al-muslimīn*).[23] He then meets 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, whom he also greets by saying: "Welcome to the shaykh of the Quraysh and its master and the son of this community's *ṣiddīq* (meaning Abū Bakr)" (*marḥaban wa ahlan bi-shaykh quraysh wa sayyidihā wa-ibn ṣiddīq hādhihi al-umma*). He then meets 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, whom he greets with: "Welcome to the

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entry on Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ in Ibn 'Asākir he has it that Yazīd led the pilgrimage in the years 51, 52 and 53 A.H. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 21, p. 126.

[20]This version, in part or in its entirety, is found in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, pp. 132-133; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 246-249; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, pp. 102-103; al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, vol. 4, pp. 150-152.

[21]The *isnād* has Wahb b. Jarīr on whom see chapter 4 n. 95. He transmitted from Juwayriya b. Asmā' (for him see chapter 3 n. 12) who transmitted from *ashyākh ahl al-madīna*. The full version is found in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 132; Wahb b. Jarīr is missing in al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 150 (see Figure 4.1).

[22]For this story we will be using the earliest most complete text found which is in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, pp. 132-133.

[23]Ibn A'tham uses the appellation, 'the master of heaven's youth' (*sayyid shabāb ahl al-janna*). Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 240. It would be interesting to find out the historicization of this *ḥadīth*, as it is clear that Ibn A'tham is aware of it but not Khalīfa.

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companion of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, and the son of the *fārūq* (meaning 'Umar) and the master of the Muslims" (*marḥaban wa ahlan bi-ṣāḥib rasūl allāh, ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama, wa ibn al-fārūq wa sayyid al-muslimīn*). Finally he meets Ibn al-Zubayr, whom he greets saying: "Welcome O son of the disciple (*ḥawārī* referring to al-Zubayr) of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, and the son of the *ṣiddīq* and the paternal aunt of the Messenger of God" (*marḥaban wa ahlan yā ibn ḥawārī rasūl allāh, ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama, wa ibn al-ṣiddīq wa ibn 'ammat rasūl allāh*). After coming into Mecca, a group of people (we are not told who) went to the above personalities and told them that they were being deceived by Mu'āwiya's false flattery. They asked al-Ḥusayn to represent them and to ask Mu'āwiya what he wanted. Al-Ḥusayn declined stating that he cannot be the representative while amongst them there was the shaykh of Quraysh. So they went to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, who declined, saying how could he represent them while amongst them there was the companion of the Prophet and son of the master of the Muslims. They went to Ibn 'Umar who declined and told them to let Ibn al-Zubayr be their spokesman.[24] Ibn al-Zubayr agreed on the condition that they agree to what he says.[25]

The story then goes to the meeting with Mu'āwiya. We are not told who was privy to the meeting but from the context it is implied that it was only Mu'āwiya and the four personalities mentioned above.

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[24] It is odd that Ibn 'Umar does not refer to Ibn al-Zubayr, as do the others, with any compliment.

[25] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 132; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 150; They are almost exactly identical. On the other hand, Ibn al-Athīr has a very shortened version of the above in *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 102. See also Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 243-244. Ibn A'tham removes the whole debate about who should be the spokesperson, which we should point out belongs more to the *manāqib* genre than to our historical narratives. For more on this subject see Asma Afsaruddin, "In Praise of the Caliphs: Re-Creating History from the Manāqib Literature," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (1999), pp. 329-350.

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Mu'āwiya spoke, praising God, after which he said: 'You know my reputation amongst you, my kinship to you, my forgiveness of you, and my forbearing [in regards to] what you have brought on me, and Yazīd the son of the Commander of the Faithful is your brother and paternal cousin, and the best person among you in terms of opinion.[26] I only wanted you to give him precedence in terms of the caliphate though you be the ones who remove and appoint, collect [the tax] and divide [it], and he will not interfere in any of that.

(*fa-takallama mu'āwiya fa-ḥamida allāh wa athnā 'alayhi*[27] *thumma qāla: qad 'alimtum sīratī fīkum wa ṣilatī li-arḥāmikum wa ṣafḥī 'ankum*[28] *wa ḥamlī limā yakūnu minkum, wa yazīd ibn amīr al-mu'minīn*[29] *akhūkum wa ibn 'ammikum wa aḥsan al-nās fīkum ra'yan,*[30] *wa innamā aradtu an tuqaddimūhu bi-ism al-khilāfa wa takūnūna antum al-ladhīna tanzi'ūn wa*

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[26]Here we believe 'politically savvy' is meant, that is the knowledge and ability to lead people. In fact, Ibn Khaldūn understands this to be the very reason behind Mu'āwiya's choice of his son to become caliph. See Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, p. 168.

[27]"*fa-ḥamida allāh wa athnā 'alayhī* " missing in Ibn A'tham and Ibn al-Athīr.

[28]"*wa ṣafḥī 'ankum*" missing in Ibn A'tham and Ibn al-Athīr. Ibn A'tham has this line totally different; his is: "You know my view of you and my kinship to you," (*innakum qad 'alimtum naẓarī lakum wa-ṣilatī arḥāmakum*). Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 245.

[29]"*wa yazīd ibn amīr al-mu'minīn*" missing in all of Ibn A'tham, Ibn al-Athīr, and al-Dhahabī. The removal of this statement "Yazīd is the son of the Commander of the Faithful," for any reason other than simple editorializing does not make sense. Unless the use of the appellation "Commander of the Faithful" in the view of the narrator was strictly the right of 'Alī. This is certainly followed by such historians as al-Ya'qūbī and al-Mas'ūdī. Although the removal of the next line "Yazīd being the most qualified" makes sense if it was done because of the author's political, sectarian, moral, etc., opinions.

[30]"*wa aḥsan al-nās fīkum ra'yan*" missing in Ibn A'tham and Ibn al-Athīr.

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tu'ammirūn,[31] *wa tajbūn wa taqsumūn*,[32] *lā yadkhul*[33] *'alaykum fī shay'in min dhālik*).[34]

Mu'āwiya's understanding of the functioning of the empire as presented above is quite interesting. He speaks as a shaykh, not as a despot or even a caliph. His vision, which should be contrasted with Ibn al-Zubayr's below, is tribal/provincial rather than Islamic/central. On the status of Yazīd, Mu'āwiya tells his audience that Yazīd is equal, through kinship, with the rest of them. He is only first among equals in terms of the caliphate (*wa yazīd. . . .akhūkum wa ibn 'ammikum . . . . innamā aradtu an tuqaddimūhu bi-ism al-khilāfa*).[35] The reason for his being first amongst equals is not his lineage but rather his political acumen (*wa aḥsan al-nās fīkum ra'yan*),[36] which is essentially likening the appointment of the caliph to that of a tribal shaykh. Mu'āwiya goes on to explain the function of the caliph vis-à-vis the elite. What we have here is essentially a number of autonomous regions. Mu'āwiya tells the recalcitrant four that, as caliph, Yazīd would not interfere in their self-government, they are the ones who appoint and remove, collect taxes and divide them amongst themselves (*wa takūnūna antum al-lādhīna tanza'ūn wa tu'ammirūn, wa tajbūn wa*

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[31]Here Ibn A'tham's text ends; instead of the above he has: "you enjoin and forbid." (*ta'murūn wa tanhawn.*) Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 245. This is a reference to the righteous in the Qur'ān who enjoin good and forbid evil. See Qur'ān 3:104, 110, 114; 7:157; 9:71, 112.

[32]Here is where al-Dhahabī's text ends. He also removed the word '*tajbūn*.' Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 151. Ibn al-Athīr added the word '*māl*' which helps explain the phrase. He has " and you collect the moneys and divide it" (*wa tajbūn al-māl wa taqsumūn*). Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 103.

[33]Ibn al-Athīr has instead "will not oppose you" (*lā yu'āriḍukum*). Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 103.

[34]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, pp. 132-133.

[35]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 132.

[36]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 132.

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taqsumūn, lā yadkhul 'alaykum fī shay' min dhālik).[37] Now 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr's answer, or rather his objection, in this version of the story is very much a representation of a more centralized vision of the empire, as is seen by his reference to the precedents set by the early Rashidūn caliphs. Ibn al-Zubayr answers Mu'āwiya with the following suggestions:

> 'Yes O Commander of the Faithful, we present to you three options from which you can choose.' He (Mu'āwiya) said: 'By God, present them.' He said: 'If you want do what the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, has done, or if you want do what Abū Bakr, who is the best of this community after the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, did, and if you want do what 'Umar has done for he is the best of the community after Abū Bakr.' He said: 'By God, what did they do?!' He said: 'The Messenger of God, peace be upon him, died and did not [leave behind] a covenant nor [did he] entrust anyone, so the Muslims agreed on Abū Bakr. So if you desire you can leave this matter[election of a caliph] until God brings His Judgment to bear and the Muslims choose for themselves?' He said: 'At present there is no one among you like Abū Bakr; he was a man without whom heads would have rolled, and I fear your disagreement.' He said: 'By God you are correct you would not like to entrust us with this community. So do what Abū Bakr did.' He said: 'By God, what had he done?' He said: 'He intentionally [chose] a man from the remotest [side] of the Quraysh not from his father's side nor from the remotest [part] of his clan, and he appointed him. So if you want you can choose any man from the Quraysh not from [the clan of] Banū 'Abd al-Shams, who is acceptable to you.' He said: 'By God! what is the third choice?' He said: 'Do

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[37]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, pp. 132-133.

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what 'Umar did.' He said: 'What did 'Umar do?' He said: 'He made this matter *shūrā*[38] from among six persons from the Quraysh, none of them were his son or his kin or from his clan.' He asked: 'Do you have other than these?' He said: 'No.' He asked: 'And you [the rest of the group?]' They answered: 'Us neither.'

(na'am yā amīr al-mu'minīn nukhayyiruka min thalāthi khiṣāl ayyuhā mā akhadhta fa-huwa laka raghbatan.[39] *qāla: lillah abūka i'riḍhuna. qāla: in shi'ta ṣana'ta mā ṣan'a rasūl allāh, ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama, wa in shi'ta ṣana'ta mā ṣan'a abū bakr fa-huwa khayru hādhihi al-umma ba'da rasūl allāh,*[40] *ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama, wa in shi'ta ṣana'ta mā ṣan'a 'umar fa-huwa khayr hādhihi al-umma ba'da abī bakr. qāla: lillāh abūka wa mā ṣana'ū? qāla: qubiḍa rasūl allāh, ṣalla allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama, fa-lam y'ahad 'ahdan*[41] *wa lam yastakhlif aḥadan, fa-irtaḍā*[42] *al-muslimūn abā bakr, fa-in shi'ta an tada'a hādhā al-amr ḥattā yaqḍiya allāh fīhi qaḍā'ahu fa-yakhtāra al-muslimūna li-anfusihim. fa-qāla: innnahu laysa fīkum al-yawm mithlu abī bakr, inna abā bakr kāna rajulan tuqta' dūnahu al-*

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[38] Although the word *shūrā* means consultation, that word does not quite convey what we believe Ibn al-Zubayr means by it in this context. We believe that it is the consultation only of *ahl al-ḥall wa al-'aqd* (those who untie and tie), that is, the elite of the Ḥijāz and not the whole of the community. Compare this with Ibn 'Umar's egalitarian answer.

[39] In Ibn al-Athīr, the title, *'amīr al-mu'minīn'* is missing. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 103. In Ibn A'tham, Ibn al-Zubayr addresses Mu'āwiya directly by his first name: "*yā mu'āwiya innā nukhayyiruka khiṣālan thalāth fa-ikhtar minhā ayyatahunna shi'ta fa-hiya laka salāḥ, qāla mu'āwiya: wa mā dhāka yā ibn al-zubayr*?" Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 246.

[40] These rankings are not found in any of the other sources.

[41] "*lam y'ahad 'ahdan*" missing in both Ibn A'tham and Ibn al-Athīr.

[42] Ibn A'tham uses the word 'chose' (*ikhtāra*) instead. He also adds that the people made him (i.e., Abū Bakr) caliph. "*fa-ja'alūh khalīfa*" Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 246.

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a'nāq,[43] *wa innī lastu āmanu 'alyakum al-ikhtilāf. qāla: ṣadaqta wallāhi mā tuḥibbu an tada'anā 'alā hādhihi al-umma.*[44] *qāla: fa-iṣna' mā ṣana'a abū bakr. qāla: lillāh abūka, qāla: wa mā ṣan'a abū bakr? qāla: 'amida ilā rajulin min qāṣiyat quraysh laysa min banī abīhi wa lā min raḥṭihi al-adnayn fa-istakhlafahu, fa'in shi'ta an tanẓur ayya rajulin min quraysh shi'ta laysa min banī 'abd shams fa-tarḍā bihi.*[45] *qāla: lillāh abūka al-thālitha mā hiya? qāla: taṣna' mā ṣan'a 'umar. qāla: wa mā ṣan'a 'umar? qāla: ja'ala hādhā al-amr shūrā fī sitat nafarin min quraysh, laysa fīhim aḥadun min waladih wa lā min banī abīhi wa lā min raḥṭihi.*[46] *qāla: fa-hal 'indaka ghayru hādhā? qāla: lā. qāla: fa-antum?*[47] *qālū: naḥnu ayḍan).*[48]

It is hard for us to imagine Mu'āwiya not knowing what the Prophet , Abū Bakr and 'Umar had done in terms of the caliphate. The text is clearly made for a

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[43] "*inna abā bakr kāna rajulan tuqṭa' dūnahu al-a'nāq*" missing in both Ibn A'tham and Ibn al-Athir.

[44] "*ṣadaqta wallāhi mā tuḥibbu an tada'anā 'alā hādhihi al-umma*" missing in both Ibn A'tham and Ibn al-Athīr.

[45] "*fa'in shi'ta an tanẓur ayya rajulin min quraysh shi'ta laysa min banī 'abd shams fa-tarḍā bihi*" missing in Ibn al-Athīr. Ibn A'tham adds "also keep it (i.e., the caliphate) away from your son " (*fa-ajnibhā anta ayḍan ibnak*) Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 246.

[46] Ibn A'tham has a slightly different version: Ibn al-Zubayr says: "And if you would like you can do what 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb did; he made it [the appointment of the caliph] *shūrā* amongst six of the Companions, to choose from amongst themselves and he left his sons and his household, and amongst any of those if he had gotten it [the caliphate] he would have been most suitable." (*wa in shi'ta fa-iṣna' kamā sana'a 'umar ibn al-khaṭṭāb, innahu ja'alahā shūrā fī sitati nafar min al-ṣaḥāba yakhtārūn li-anfusihim rajulan wa taraka waladahu wa ahl baytihi, wa fīhim man law waliyahā lakāna lahā ahlan*). Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 246-247.

[47] Ibn A'tham clarifies that it was the remaining three by stating that Mu'āwiya asks the remaining three. Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 247.

[48] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 133. It is odd that Ibn A'tham has this text at all. The text clearly justifies and upholds the point of view that the Prophet left no indication of who is to lead the community after him. Yet on closer scrutiny we see that Ibn A'tham removed the wording 'did not entrust' (*lam ya'had*) which leaves the possibility open that the Prophet might indeed have entrusted 'Alī, thus making it unnecessary for the need to appoint anyone, which Ibn A'tham agrees the Prophet did not. Could it be that Ibn A'tham was a Zaydī? There are counter indications; see the previous chapter on Ṣiffīn.

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separate purpose, which is to point out that the Ḥijāz-centric vision is the correct one. If it had been intended as a history lesson why weren't we told about the appointment of 'Alī or that of his son al-Ḥasan? After 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr has finished Mu'āwiya turns into the despot. He tells them:[49]

> I would like to point out that he who gives warning is blameless. One of you used to stand up to me and accuse me of lying in front of everyone and I would bear that and forgive him. I am about to give a speech, if I am truthful I will gain and if I am lying then I am to blame. And I swear by God that if anyone interrupts me during the speech his head will fall before his words come back to him. So let each person be responsible for himself! Then he ordered the head of his guard and told him: 'Put two guards on each of these men, and if any of them should answer me with a lie or a truth then let them hit him with their swords.
>
> *(fa-innī aḥbabtu an ataqaddam ilaykum: innahu qad a'dhar man andhar, wa innahu qad kāna yaqūmu minkum al-qā'im ilayyā fa-yukadhdhibunī 'alā ru'ūs al-nās, fa-aḥtamilu lahu dhālik wa aṣfaḥ 'anhu,*[50] *wa innī qā'im bi-maqālatin in ṣadaqtu fa-liya ṣidqī wa in kadhabtu fa-'alayya kadhibī,*[51] *wa innī uqsimu lakum billāh la'in radda 'alayya minkum insānun kalimatan fī maqāmī hādhā lā tarji' ilayhi kalimatuhu ḥattā yusbuqa ilayya ra'suhu, fa-*

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[49]Ibn A'tham does not have the next lines, since he mixes the Ḥijāz centric story with the Ḥijāz vs. Syrocentric story. He instead has Mu'āwiya warn them of the wrath of the Syrians, adding that on the morrow, he will give a speech on the pulpit [In reference to the Prophet's pulpit in Medina]. The exact words are: "*fa-innī urīdu an arḥala 'an makka ghayra annī 'azamtu an atakallama 'alā al-minbar bi-kalām wa al-mubqi fī dhālika al-waqt innamā yubqi 'alā nafsihi min ahl al-shām wa antum a'lam, wa qad a'dhar man andhar. qāla: fa-inṣaraf al-qawm ilā manāzilihim.*" *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 247.

[50]"*wa aṣfaḥ 'anhu*" missing in al-Dhahabī. Ibn al-Athīr adds that these interruptions occurred during Mu'āwiya's speeches. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 103.

[51]"*in ṣadaqtu fa-liya ṣidqī wa in kadhabtu fa-'alayya kadhibī*" missing in Ibn al-Athīr.

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lā yur'iyanna rajulun illā 'alā nafsihi.[52] *thumma da'ā ṣāḥib ḥarasihi faqāla: aqim 'alā ra'si kulli rajulin min ha'ulā' rajulayn min ḥarasika, fā'in dhahaba rajulun yaruddu 'alayya kalimatan fī maqāmī hādhā bi-ṣidqin aw kadhibin fa-l-yaḍribāhu bi-sayfayhimā).*[53]

In the above speech Mu'āwiya is no longer the forbearing Arab shaykh. He indicates that his patience has run out. Mu'āwiya thus turns into the despot, and indicates that he will be turning into such a person in his speech.

It should be noted that Ibn Sa'd's and Ibn 'Asākir's very short versions are only concerned with the actions of the recalcitrant four rather than the legitimate place for the election. The reason we have come to this conclusion is that both authors mention that Mu'āwiya went on the lesser pilgrimage in the year 56 A.H. and had some words with al-Ḥusayn, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, after which he told them: "I will be speaking on certain matters on which you are not to answer otherwise I will kill you."[54] This occurs at the end of the Ḥijāz-centric version when the discussion goes into the excuse of the recalcitrant four. Before our sources go into the reasons for the inaction of the recalcitrant four they mention Mu'āwiya's speech to the people of Mecca.

In our narrative the speech has two goals. The first, which is essential to the reader's understanding, is to show that the people of the Ḥijāz, especially the recalcitrant four, are essential in the election of the caliph. The second goal, which is

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[52]In Ibn al-Athīr this is slightly different in that Mu'āwiya says: " If anyone interrupts me with a word during my speech, he will not hear another word until the sword precedes it to his head, so every man is responsible [for no one] but himself" (*la'in radda 'alayya aḥadukum kalimatan fī maqāmī hādhā, lā tarji' ilayhi kalimatun ghayruhā ḥattā yasbuqahā al-sayfu ilā ra'sihi, fa-lā yubqiyanna rajulun illā 'alā nafsihi*). *Al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 103.

[53]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 133.

[54]Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Ne., vol. 7, p. 492; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 59, p. 120. The exact words are: "*innī atakallam bi-kalām fa-lā taruddū 'alayya shay'an fa-aqtulakum.*"

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essential to the story, is to persuade the general public in Mecca to believe that the recalcitrant four gave the *bay'a*.[55] This is essentially a Machiavellian move on the part of Mu'āwiya the despot, to get the people of Ḥijāz to accept the *bay'a*. Although we know that Khalīfa's and al-Dhahabī's sources are identical there are enough changes in the wording to warrant our notice. The same is true of the versions of the speech in Ibn al-Athīr. We will transcribe the speech from Khalīfa's narrative with the changes found in the others rendered as follows: (al-Dhahabī) and {Ibn al-Athīr}. In the first version Mu'āwiya begins by praising God:

> This group the elite and the best of the Muslims, without whose consultation we don't embark or conclude any matter, have agreed and given the oath of allegiance to Yazīd the son of the Commander of the Faithful after him, so in the name of God give the oath of allegiance.
>
> (*inna ha'ulā' al-raht sādat al-muslimīn wa khiyāruhim, lā nastabid* (*yustabad*) {*yabuttu*} *bi-amr dūnahum wa lā naqḍī* {(*yuqḍī*)} *amran illā 'an mashūratihim, wa inahum qad raḍū wa bāya'ū li-yazīd ibn amīr al-mu'minīn min ba'dihi*{missing, son of etc.}, *fa-bāyi'ū bi*{*'alā*}*-ism allāh*).[56]

Both Khalīfa and al-Dhahabī have "everyone" come up and hit the hand of Mu'āwiya.[57] We are not certain nor is it clear if this included the recalcitrant four. Adding to the confusion, after the above statement the narrative goes on to indicate that

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[55]This is in stark contrast to what al-Ya'qūbī reports. In his narrative the incident where Mu'āwiya hears from 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr occurs separately from Mu'āwiya leading the pilgrimage. It was when he went on the pilgrimage, according to al-Ya'qūbī, that he supposedly reconciled people and he did not force anyone to give the *bay'a* (*wa ḥajja mu'āwiya tilka al-sanati fa-ta'allafa al-qawm wa lam yukrihhum 'alā al-bay'a*). *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 217.

[56]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 133; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 103; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 152.

[57]This is the physical act of the oath of allegiance. It consists of the person who is giving the *bay'a* slapping the open palm of the person receiving it.

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people met the recalcitrant four and asked them why had they agreed without protesting.[58] Ibn al-Athīr adds the word, '*bāya'atum*' (have you given the oath of allegiance) in his narrative of the recalcitrant four in order to give them deniability of that action. The importance of this deniability is brought home in Ibn A'tham's narrative, which we will look at later.

The Ḥijāz vs. Syrocentric Version

Our second version is found in most of the same sources which mentioned the first version and a few more.[59] In its fullest form this version is found in Ibn A'tham. Our *isnāds* come to us from Khalīfa and al-Dhahabī. The one from Khalīfa has one name in common with the first version which is Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, the rest of the names are different (see Figure 4.2).[60] The circumstances of this version are very similar to the first version. Mu'āwiya is also making the pilgrimage where he meets with Ibn 'Umar, Ibn Abī Bakr, Ibn al-Zubayr, Ibn 'Alī and Ibn 'Abbās.[61] Mu'āwiya goes to Medina with a thousand men. Although at the beginning we are not certain why this "fact" is added, its importance becomes clearer as the story progresses. Mu'āwiya

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[58]The text is unclear as to whether the four did or did not give the *bay'a* , as it is unclear as to what the "By God we did not do" (*wallāhi mā fa'alnā*) is denying. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārikh Khalīfa*, p. 133; al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 152.

[59]Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 217; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 240-245; al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, vol. 4, pp. 148-149.

[60]Al-Dhahabī drops Wahb b. Jarīr and his father from his *isnād* even though he is much later than Khalīfa. Khalīfa who has it from Wahb b. Jarīr from his father (on both see previous chapter n. 95). His father transmitted from the first name that occurs in al-Dhahabī's *isnād*, al-Nu'mān b. Rāshid al-Jazarī (unknown death date). This al-Nu'mān is considered a weak transmitter who makes mistakes. Al-Mizzī, vol. 29, pp. 445-448 [no. 6440]. He transmitted from the very famous al-Zuhrī, on whom see chapter 2, n. 20. He transmitted from Zakwān the *mawlā* of 'Ā'isha (see Figure 4.2).

[61]In Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ and al-Dhahabī, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī is missing. Only in Ibn A'tham is there an unfavorable story with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās added (see below). We should point out that al-Ya'qūbī, although he mentions al-Ḥusayn and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr among those who did not give the *bay'a* , unlike the other sources does not have their statements. He only has 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr's statements. See al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 217.

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first goes to Medina where he gives a short speech praising his son Yazīd.[62] We are also told, in some of the narratives,[63] that before Mu'āwiya enters Medina, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr run into him as they were leaving the city. As in the previous version, Mu'āwiya exchanges some words with each individual. But unlike the first version, where Mu'āwiya praises each person by pointing out their great heritage, he insults them by insulting their future. Mu'āwiya first meets al-Ḥusayn whom he greets rudely and describes him as a "[sacrificial] camel overflowing with blood which God will spill!" (*badanatun bi-taraqruqi damihā wallāhu muhrīquha*!).[64] Next Mu'āwiya meets 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr whom he also greets rudely, describing him as "an ambling lizard [on] the hillside, hiding its head and hitting with its tail; God is about to take its tail and break its back" (*khabba ḍabbun tal'atan, yudkhilu ra'sahu wa yaḍrib bi-dhanabihi, wa yūshiku allāhu an yu'khadha bi-dhanabihi, wa yaduqqa ẓahrahu*).[65] As for 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, Mu'āwiya simply calls him a senile old man. Ibn al-Athīr maintains that Mu'āwiya did the same to Ibn 'Umar but he does not give us the words used.[66] Mu'āwiya goes to Mecca where he does not mention anything about his son Yazīd and sends for the recalcitrant four.

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[62]In fact, we are only given one sentence, a rhetorical question, so to speak. Mu'āwiya asks: "Who is more deserving of this order [the caliphate] than he [Yazīd]?" (*man aḥaqqu bi-hādhā al-amr minhu*). Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 131.

[63]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 131; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 148; Ibn A'tham mixes the beginning of this version with our first version. See *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 239-240.

[64]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 101. This is an insulting allusion to the future killing of al-Ḥusayn.

[65]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 101. This is also an insulting allusion to the final outcome of Ibn al-Zubayr whose end occurs in Mecca, which is surrounded by mountains.

[66]Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, pp. 101-102. The reason for the lack of specific words for Ibn 'Umar is that our narrator would be hard pressed to come up with either an insult that is

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Here, unlike the other version, Mu'āwiya meets with each person individually. The conversation is not an exchange of ideas but rather of accusations. The first person he sends for is al-Ḥusayn. Mu'āwiya is the first to talk, he says to al-Ḥusayn:

> Oh Abū 'Abdallāh, know that I have not left a province (*balad*) that I have not sent for its people and gotten the oath of allegiance for Yazīd. I delayed [getting it from] Medina since I thought they were his origins, people, and kin, and I don't fear for him from them. Then I sent [for the oath] to Medina after that [taking the oath from the other provinces] and they refused, more intensely than anyone else, to give the oath of allegiance; if I had known amongst the community of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, a better person than my son I would not have sent [to get the oath of allegiance] for him.
> (*ābā 'abdallāh! i'lam annī mā taraktu baladan illā wa qad ba'athtu ilā ahliha fa-akhadhtu 'alayhim al-bay'a li-yazīd, wa innamā akhkhartu al-madīna li-annī qultu hum aṣluhu wa qawmuhu wa 'ashīratuhu wa man lā akhāfahum 'alayhi. thuma innī ba'athtu ilā al-madīna ba'da dhālika fa-abā bay'atahu man lā a'lamu aḥadan huwa ashaddu bihā minhum; wa law 'alimta anna li-ummati muḥammad ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama khayran min waladī yazīda lamā ba'athtu lahu*).[67]

At this al-Ḥusayn answers: "Slowly O Mu'āwiya! Don't say it like this, for you have left the person who is better than him, and so are his mother and father." (*mahlan yā mu'āwiya!*[68] *lā taqul hākadhā, fa-innaka qad tarakta man huwa khayrun minhu*

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contemporary as he did with Ibn Abī Bakr or an insult to his feature as he did with Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī.

[67] Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 240; this is the only source that has Mu'āwiya speaking with al-Ḥusayn.

[68] It is interesting that these individuals in this version, when addressing Mu'āwiya, never use the title *amīr al-mu'minīn* but simply call him by his first name. We are not certain about the implication of this. It is certainly negative but whether it is an indication that Mu'āwiya is simply

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umman wa aban wa nafsan).[69] Mu'āwiya asks al-Ḥusayn if he is referring to himself, which al-Ḥusayn does not deny or confirm. Mu'āwiya then answers al-Ḥusayn by stating that al-Ḥusyan's mother and father are superior, but not al-Ḥusayn himself to Yazīd.[70] At this last point al-Ḥusayn becomes offended. He tells Mu'āwiya: "Who is better for the community of Muḥammad! Yazīd the drunk profligate!" (*man khayrun li ummati muḥammad! yazīd al-khamūr al-fajūr*!).[71] Mu'āwiya tells al-Ḥusayn that Yazīd would never say this about him, and that he should fear God and not let the Syrians hear what he just heard, as they are "the enemy of both you and your father" (*fa-innahum a'dā'uka wa a'dā'u abīka*).[72] Al-Ḥusayn leaves and Mu'āwiya calls 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr. Mu'āwiya starts to talk but 'Abd al-Raḥmān interrupts him:

> 'By God O Mu'āwiya, you would like us to leave it up to you in the matter of your son [and the caliphate] in order to do what you want ?! No! by God, we will never do that and the matter [the appointment of the caliph] should be returned to a *shūrā* between the Muslims.' Mu'āwiya said: ' By God, I know all about you and your stupidity '

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regarded as an equal or that these personalities never recognized his caliphate is uncertain. This does not occur in the narratives of the same version of either Khalīfa or al-Dhahabī; both cleverly avoid it by simply having the above personalities use the first person pronoun.

[69]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 240.

[70]Mu'āwiya, using the Umayyad argument par excellence, explains that although 'Alī, al-Ḥusayn's father, is superior not only to him, Mu'āwiya, but to everyone by his precedent in Islam and his kinship to the Prophet, yet it was God who chose Mu'āwiya over 'Alī (*wa ammā abūka fa-lahu sābiqatun wa faḍlun, wa qarābatuhu min rasūl allāh, ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama, laysat li-ghayrihi min al-nās, ghayra annahu qad ḥākama abūhu abāka, fa-qaḍā allāh [li-abīhi] 'alā abīka)* As for Yazīd, Mu'āwiya tells al-Ḥusayn that he would be better for the community (*wa ammā anta wa huwa fa-huwa wallāhi khayrun li-ummati muḥammad ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama minka*). Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 241.

[71]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 241. It is vexing that the epitaph after the Prophet's name is missing from al-Ḥusayn's words but not from Mu'āwiya's.

[72]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 241.

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(*wallāhi yā mu'āwiya la'alla wuddaka annā qad wakkalnāka ilā allāh fī amr ibnika yazīd ḥattā taf'al mā turīd! lā wallāhi lā naf'al dhālika abadan aw lataruddanna al-amr shūrā bayna al-muslimīn!*[73] *fa-qāla mu'āwiya: ammā wallāhi innī la-a'rafu bika wa bi-safahika*[74]).[75]

After that Mu'āwiya tells 'Abd al-Raḥmān to fear God and not let the Syrians hear him.[76] To this 'Abd al-Raḥmān replies that it is us who fear God, and "Don't call upon us to give the oath of allegiance to the Yazīd of wines, the Yazīd of panthers, and the Yazīd of monkeys" (*lā tad'ūnā ilā bay'at yazīd al-khumūr wa yazīd al-fuhūd wa yazīd al-qurūd*).[77]

The next person Mu'āwiya meets with in Ibn A'tham's narrative is the first person in Khalīfa and al-Dhahabī's narrative, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar. Mu'āwiya asks 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar how is it that he has not given the oath of allegiance like the other people even though he, 'Abdallāh, does not like to spend one night without a leader. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar points out that the previous leaders of the community who had sons as good as if not better than Yazīd chose other people to lead; but indicates he is still willing to give the oath if the rest of the people accept his son, and if they disagree

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[73] Khalīfa and al-Dhahabī add, "*aw la-nu'idannahā 'alayk jadha'an; thuma wathab fa-qām.*" That is starting a civil war.

[74] "*fa-qāla mu'āwiya: ammā wallāhi innī la-a'rafu bika wa bi-safahika*" missing in both Khalīfa and al-Dhahabī.

[75] Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 241-242.

[76] Now we can understand why this version mentions the 1000 men: it is the Syrian factor. We don't see its proper use in Ibn A'tham. But in Khalīfa's and al-Dhahabī's narratives, not only does Mu'āwiya warn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr not to let the Syrians hear him, but he is also told to remain silent until Mu'āwiya informs the people that he has given the oath of allegiance. After that 'Abd al-Raḥmān may do what he wants (*ḥattā ukhbir al-'ashiyya anakka qad bāy'ata, thumma kun ba'da dhālik 'alā mā badā laka min amrika.*" Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 131; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 149.

[77] Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 242.

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then he will wait until they agree on someone.[78] The next and last person to meet with Mu'āwiya is 'Abdallāh b. al- Zubayr.

Mu'āwiya calls 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr a wily fox and accuses him of inflating the egos of the previous three.[79] 'Abdallāh answers Mu'āwiya thus:

> 'By God, O Mu'āwiya, there is no dissension in me, so don't try to build in us a foundation for yourself and follow the correct precedent from the Muslims' choices, and the matter (the caliphate) can only be [decided] by a *shūrā* between them; for Islam returns to its source, and if you refuse that and you have become weary of this matter (the caliphate) resign and bring your son so that we may give him the oath of allegiance. And know, O Mu'āwiya, that God's viceregency is on His earth and in His creatures, and the Messenger's, peace be upon him, viceregency is in his community [which] is prodigious, and God most Holy and most High will ask you about them.'
>
> ([*wallāhi*] *mā fiyya shiqāqun yā mu'āwiya, fa-lā tabni fīnā asāsan li-nafsika, wa ilzam mā kāna 'alayhi al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ min khiyār al-muslimīn, wa lā yakun al-amr illā bi-shūrā baynahum, fa-inna al-islām yaridu 'alā mawāridihi; fa-in abayta dhālika wa qad malallt hādhā al-amr fa-i'tazil wa*

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[78]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 131; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 242; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, pp. 148-149. Ibn A'tham is the only one of the three that has Mu'āwiya warn Ibn 'Umar, after praising him, from the Syrians. But the above statement is in sharp contrast to what al-Ya'qūbī has for Ibn 'Umar. Al-Ya'qūbī writes that 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar said: "What will be our excuse with God if we should give the oath of allegiance to someone who plays with monkeys and dogs and drinks wine and is openly morally depraved" (*nubāyi' man yal'ab bi-l-qurūd wa al-kilāb wa yashrab al-khamr wa yuẓhir al-fusūq mā ḥujjatunā 'inda allāh*). *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 217.

[79]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 243. There is a tongue-in-cheek factor about this particular incident as it is portrayed in Ibn A'tham's narrative. Mu'āwiya smiles as soon as 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr enters. In Khalīfa and al-Dhahabī, 'Abdallāh supposedly inflated the egos of two rather than three of the recalcitrant four. Khalīfa, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 131; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 149.

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hāta ibnaka ḥattā nubāyi'ahu.[80] *wa i'lam yā mu'āwiya anna khilāfat allāh fī arḍihi wa khalqihi wa khilāfat rasūl allāh ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa sallama fī ummatihi 'aẓīmatun wa in allāha tabāraka wa ta'ālā 'anhumā musā'iluka).*[81]

In the above narrative al-Ḥusayn's objection is not regional but personal. That is, his argument is for a candidate for the caliphate from *ahl al bayt*, especially an 'Alid, over and above any other candidate. The objection of 'Abd al-Raḥmān is certainly regional as he would like the caliphate and the appointment of said position to be decided by a *shūrā*. The use of the word "return" in our opinion not only refers to the past precedent set by 'Umar but also a return to Medina. The words of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, who is the one Mu'āwiya is most lenient towards, are quite different from his peers'. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar wants the matter to be decided by the consensus of the community, the whole community. It is not exclusively the right of a clan, or a province, but rather it is the agreement of the community on one person. This is why Mu'āwiya is so lenient towards 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar as he, by far, is the only one that would accept Yazīd readily even if he were not chosen by the elite of the Ḥijāz. As long as a majority of the Muslims accepted Yazīd, then he could be caliph in Ibn 'Umar's eyes. Then there are the words of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. 'Abdallāh, like 'Abd al-Raḥmān, also calls for the return of the election to Medina. In fact he is even clearer as

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[80]This is the only line that is in common with Khalīfa and al-Dhahabī. Both narratives have the following extra line: "And if we gave the oath of allegiance to your son with you, whom do we hear and whom do we obey? By God we will never give the oath to both of you at the same time!" (*a-ra-ayta idhā bāya'nā ibnaka ma'aka li-ayyikumā nasma'* ?! *li-ayyikumā nuṭī'* ?! *lā najma' al-bay'ata lakumā wallāhi abadan*). Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 131; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 149. Al-Ya'qūbī's version is different from all of the rest. He has al-Zubayr tell Mu'āwiya: "There is no obedience to a human being in the disobedience of the Creator and [especially if] he [referring to the human being] has ruined our religion" (*lā ṭā'ata li-makhlūq fī ma'ṣiyati al-khāliq wa qad afsada 'alaynā dīnanā*). *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 217. It is interesting that in al-Ya'qūbī's version the objections of the recalcitrant four to Yazīd's nomination are always in the form of a visceral attack on the character of Yazīd.

[81]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 244.

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he tells Mu'āwiya that "Islam returns to its source" (*fa-inna al-islām yaridu 'alā mawāridihi*).[82] Finally there is the point about God's viceregency and the Prophet's viceregency. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr differentiates between the two and has God's viceregency as essentially what is found in the Qur'ān,[83] that is, over the whole earth and His creatures (most probably in reference to animals and not human beings), while the Prophet's viceregency is more specific in that it is in the Muslim community. This certainly gives us a whole new definition of the term *khalīfat allāh* , which was used by the poets to denote the Umayyads.[84] Here 'Abdallāh, or more correctly the narrator, believes the caliph is only the vicegerent of the Prophet, and not the vicegerent of God, when it comes to the Muslim community.[85] In other words, the caliph is *khalīfat allāh* on the earth and over his creatures but not over the Muslims. Over the Muslims he is only *khalīfat rasūl allāh*. Ira M. Lapidus also believes that "Though they headed the community, the religion, and the state, the Caliphs did not inherit Muhammad's prophethood, nor were they a source of religious doctrine and law."[86] After the exchange Mu'āwiya is left alone. After an unspecified amount of

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[82] Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 244.

[83] For more on the early understanding of the term 'Khalīfa' as found in the Qur'ān see: Wadād al-Qādī, "The Term 'khalīfa' in the Early Exegetical Literature," *Die Welt des Islams* 28 (1988), pp. 392-411.

[84] Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.6, 8-11.

[85] For a totally different view from the above see Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph*.

[86] Ira M. Lapidus, "The Separation of State and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic Society," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975), pp. 368-369. Hawting believes that, on the contrary, the Umayyads, "regarded themselves as deputies of God rather than as mere successors to the Prophet." See, *The First Dynasty in Islam*, p. 13. This follows Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliphs* argument that the Umayyad caliphs held both religious and temporal authority.

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time,[87] he ascends the pulpit and gives the following speech. Mu'āwiya begins this speech in the same way as the other, by first praising God, and then he says:

> 'We have found the people's talk full of falsities. They have thought that Ibn 'Umar, Ibn al-Zubayr, Ibn Abū Bakr *al-ṣiddīq*, have not given the oath of allegiance to Yazīd! They have listened and obeyed and have given him the oath of allegiance!' The Syrians said: 'By God, we will not be satisfied until they give the oath of allegiance at the head of people [i.e., in public] or we will cut off their heads!' Mu'āwiya said: 'Hold on, God, be praised! How are people so quick to think the worst of the Quraysh, I will not hear this talk from anyone after today!'
>
> (*innā wajadnā aḥādīth al-nāsi dhawāt 'awārin, za'amū anna ibn 'umar wa ibn al-zubayr wa ibn abī bakr al-ṣiddīq lam* (*lan*) *yubāyi'ū yazīd! qad sami'ū wa aṭā'ū wa bāya'ū lahu, fa-qāla ahl al-shām: lā wallāhi lā narḍā ḥattā yubāyi'ū 'alā ru'ūs al-nās* (*al-ashhād*) *wa illā ḍarbnā a'nāqahum, fa-qāla: mah subḥān allāh! mā asra' al-nās ilā quraysh bi-al-sū'* (*al-sharr*), *lā asm'u hadhihi al-maqālata min aḥadin* (*minkum*) *ba'da al-yawm*).[88]

Here, in contrast to the previous speech, the Syrians play a direct role. Essentially Mu'āwiya (it is more accurate to say the narrator) uses the Syrians to impose their hegemony over the Ḥijāz and the recalcitrant four. An important difference is that Mu'āwiya specifies who from the recalcitrant four gave the *bay'a*. In this narrative al-Ḥusayn is not mentioned.[89] It is only Ibn A'tham, who as we said before has combined both narratives, who combines both speeches into one. He is the only one

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[87]Ibn A'tham makes it the next day in *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 247.

[88]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, pp. 131-132; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, pp. 149-150.

[89]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 132; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 4, p. 150.

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who mentions al-Ḥusayn by name. Mu'āwiya, much like the other speeches, starts by praising God. He continues:

> 'Oh people! we have found that the peoples' speech is full of falsities, and they have assumed that al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr did not give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd. This group of four are, in my view, the elite and the best of the Muslims, and I have invited them to give the oath of allegiance and found them to be obedient, and they have submitted, given the oath of allegiance, listened, answered, and obeyed.' Then the Syrians unsheathed their swords and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful! What is this that you elevated these four's positions? Give us permission in order that we may cut off their necks, for we don't agree that they should give the oath of allegiance in secret but they must give it publicly so that everyone can see.' Mu'āwiya said: 'God be praised! How quick people are to evil and how much they love their own lives! O Syrians, fear God and don't be quick to civil strife, for killing has its retribution and punishment.'
>
> (*ayyuhā al-nās! qad wajdnā aḥādīth al-nās dhāta 'awār, wa innahum qad za'amū anna al-ḥusayn ibn 'alī wa 'abd al-raḥmān ibn abī bakr wa 'abdallāh ibn 'umar wa 'abdallāh ibn al-zubayr lam yubāyi'ū yazīd, wa ha'ulā' al-raht al-arba'a hum 'indī sādat al-muslimīn wa khiyāruhim, wa qad da'awtuhum ilā al-bay'a fa-wajadtuhum idhan sāmi'īn muṭī'īn, wa qad sallamū wa bāya'ū wa sami'ū wa ajābū wa aṭā'ū. qāla: fa-ḍaraba ahl al-shām bi-ayādīhim ilā siyūfihim fa-sallūhā thumma qālū: yā amīr al-mu'minīn! mā hādhā alladhī tu'aẓẓimuhu min amr ha'ūlā' al-arba'a? i'dhan lanā an naḍriba a'nāqahum fa-innā lā narḍā an yubāyi'ū sirran wa lakin*

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yubāyi'ū jahran ḥattā yasm'a al-nās ajma'ūn. fa-qāla mu'āwiya: subḥān allāh mā asra' al-nās bi-l-shar wa mā aḥlā baqā'ahum 'indahum! itaqū allāh yā ahl al-shām wa lā tusri'ū ilā al-fitna, fa-inna al-qatl lahu muṭālaba wa qiṣāṣ).[90]

This speech, unlike the other two, adds the name of al-Ḥusayn to the three names mentioned in the previous speech. Also, unlike the other two, Mu'āwiya does not rebuke the Syrians for being harsh on the Quraysh. He simply tells them that any killing has its punishment and retribution, and not to be so quick to start civil unrest. These words are in fact playing on the memory of the reader. Here, we believe, he is telling the Syrians they should not be like the killers of 'Uthmān and that he is not like the past authority that was in power during that time.[91] More important than the differences in the speech is Ibn A'tham's version of the third element, sub-element B, the reaction of the recalcitrant four.

In his narrative, al-Ḥusayn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and both 'Abdallāhs did not know what to do. They remained silent because they were afraid if they had made it known that they did not give the *bay'a* the Syrians would kill them and/or civil war would break out. Mu'āwiya left and the Meccans asked the four why they have agreed to the *bay'a*, to which al-Ḥusayn answered

> 'By God we never gave the oath of allegiance; Mu'āwiya tricked and deceived us with the same thing that he deceived you. Then he (Mu'āwiya that is) ascended the pulpit and spoke and we were afraid that if we objected civil war

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[90]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 247-248.

[91]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 247-248. Mu'āwiya is, of course, referring to 'Alī's inaction towards the killers of 'Uthmān.

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would start up again and we did not know what our outcome would be, and this was our story with him.'[92]

This explanation serves a number of purposes. The most immediate is that it explains, as we have maintained was part of these narratives, the inaction of these major figures. It also serves as to erase any doubt anyone ever had of the recalcitrant four, but most importantly whether al-Ḥusayn gave the *bay'a*. This it categorically denies. The Syrians are blamed for their threats and the four are excused for their behavior as it avoids starting a civil war. In fact, this is the only version of Mu'āwiya's speech that does not conclude with the people giving the *bay'a*. Not only do the recalcitrant four deny giving the *bay'a* but they also explain that they did not answer Mu'āwiya because they feared being killed.[93]

Before we move on to the Syrocentric version we shall look at the version of the *bay'a* to Yazīd found in al-Ṭabarī.[94] The reason we have linked this version with the above two is its structural likeness to the above Ḥijāz vs. Syrocentric version. Like the Ḥijāz vs. Syrocentric version above, here Mu'āwiya also talks with the recalcitrant sons of the companions individually. The mentioning of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, for us, is also a similarity since, although he is mentioned at the beginning among those who did not give the oath of allegiance, as in the above version, his name is not mentioned within the context of a meeting with Mu'āwiya.[95] There are also contextual similarities such as

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[92]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 248-249. The exact wording is: "*fa-qāla al-husayn: lā wallāhi mā bāya'nā! wa lākin mu'āwiya khada'anā wa kādanā biba'ḍi mā kādakum bihi. thumma ṣa'ada al-minbar wa takallam bi-kalām, wa khashīnā in radadnā maqālatahu 'alayhi an ta'ūda al-fitnatu jadha'an wa lā nadrī ilā mā dhā ya'ūlu amrunā, fa-hādhihi qiṣṣatunā ma'ahu.*"

[93]The exact wording is: "*kādanā wa khifnā al-qatl.*" Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 103.

[94]The same exact version is in Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, pp. 286-287.

[95]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 303 [176/2] . Al-Ṭabarī tells us that his informants forgot Ibn 'Abbās at the end of the narrative. The role of Ibn 'Abbās in the accounts of Ibn A'tham and Ibn al-Athīr is curious. In both narratives 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās threatens Mu'āwiya with civil war if he does not give the Banū Hāshim their rightful moneys. In Ibn al-Athīr it is not clear what moneys they are

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the wording of the speeches of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar's words, in this version, are the only ones that espouse a political view. He tells Mu'āwiya: "By God, if the community agrees after you on an Ethiopian slave I would go into (agree with) what the community has gone in" (*fa-wallāhi law anna al-umma ijtama'at ba'daka 'alā 'abd ḥabashī la-dakhaltu fīmā tadkhulu fihi al-umma*).[96] The other similarity is the exchange between Mu'āwiya and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, which is as acrid as in the above version. Mu'āwiya accuses 'Abd al-Raḥmān of disobedience, to which 'Abd al-Raḥmān responds quite sarcastically that he is hoping "this (disobedience) would be good for me" (*arjū an yakūna dhālika khayran lī*).[97] Mu'āwiya then threatens to kill him, to which 'Abd al-Raḥmān tells him that if he does God will curse him in this world and in the hereafter.[98] At this point the meeting ends abruptly without the usual exchange between both parties which we will discuss below in our enumeration of the differences.

The differences are also structural and contextual. The structural differences include the lack of a concluding speech by Mu'āwiya. The second is the *isnād* (see Figure 4.3);[99] it has no name in common with the previous two. As for the contextual

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referring to, nor is it clear to whom Mu'āwiya is referring when he points out that one of the Banū Hāshim refused to give the *bay'a* to Yazīd. On the other hand, it is clear in Ibn A'tham that Mu'āwiya was distributing moneys and that he was referring to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, who is the only one that does not accept it from the Banū Hāshim. There is an undeniable effort by many of our sources to deny the corruptibility of al-Ḥusayn. Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 244-245; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, pp. 103-104.

[96]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 304 [177/2].

[97]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 304 [177/2].

[98]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 304 [177/2].

[99]Al-Ṭabarī has it from Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm who is more than likely Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Kathīr b. Zayd b. Aflaḥ b. Manṣūr b. Muzāḥim al-'Abdī (d. 252 A.H.), al-Mizzī, vol. 32, pp. 311-314 [no. 7083]. He transmitted from Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm. This is Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Miqsam Abū Bishr al-Asdī better known as Ibn 'Ulayya (b. 110, d. 193 A.H.). He was appointed judge in Baghdad by the 'Abbāsid caliph Harūn al-Rashīd. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 1, pp. 216-220 [no. 843]. He

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differences, the first is that there is no mention of Yazīd. Mu'āwiya simply uses the term "this matter, "*hādhā al-amr* (meaning the caliphate) without naming names. Unlike the above version, Mu'āwiya does not threaten anyone but 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr. Another difference is that this version is the only one where 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and al-Ḥusayn, promise Mu'āwiya that they will eventually give the *bay'a*. They all, with the exception of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar,[100] tell Mu'āwiya: "So send for them (the recalcitrant five) and if they give the oath of allegiance I would be among them or else don't hurry me. Mu'āwiya asks: "Would you do that?" Al-Ḥusayn answers: "Yes" (*fa-arsil ilayhim, fa-in bāya'ū kuntu rajulan minhum, wa illā lam takun 'ajjalta 'alaya bi-amrin; qāla: wa taf'al? qāla: na'am*).[101] The final difference is that, as in the first version, we have Mu'āwiya being called "*amīr al-mu'minīn*" by the same person who was the spokesman in the first version, namely 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.[102]

The Syrocentric Version

In this version, Mu'āwiya is on his deathbed and there has been no decision as to who will be caliph after him. Yazīd walks in and asks his father to hurry and give him the oath of allegiance. He tells his father: "If you don't pronounce the oath of allegiance for me, I fear that I might receive from the family of Turāb (the 'Alids) what

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transmitted from Ibn 'Awn, that is 'Abdallāh ibn 'Awn, for him see previous chapter n. 26. He transmitted from a man in Nakhla.

[100] 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar tells Mu'āwiya that he is ready to give the *bay'a* to whomever the community agrees on after him (*thumma ajī'u fa-ubāyi'uka, 'alā annī adkhulu ba'daka fīmā tajtami'u 'alayhi al-umma*). Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 304 [177/2].

[101] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 303 [176/2]. For al-Ḥusayn; p. 304 [176/2].

[102] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 304 [176/2].

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you have received."[103] Mu'āwiya remains silent and does not answer his son. The next day Mu'āwiya calls for his ministers, generals, entourage, and household to come to him. Every time one of them leaves he would pass by Mu'āwiya's head of police, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī[104] and lament the fact that Mu'āwiya's recalcitrance will cause the caliphate to pass to the 'Alids.[105] Afterwards the people meet with al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Muslim b. 'Uqba al-Murrī[106] and tell them that they want the caliphate to go to their choice, Yazīd. The two go to Mu'āwiya and convey the peoples' request, but Mu'āwiya wants to wait, since he is pessimistic about taking a decision on Wednesday.[107] After al-Ḍaḥḥāk insists, Mu'āwiya tells him to let in the people again. He and Muslim go out and choose seventy people.[108] After exchanging some niceties

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[103]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 252. The exact words are: "*fa-innaka in lam tadhkur al-bay'a lī khashītu an alqā min āl turāb mithla mā laqīta.*"

[104]Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays b. Khālid al-Akbar b. Wahb b. Tha'laba al-Fihrī. There is some dispute, as there are for all those who fought with Mu'āwiya, as to whether he was a Companion of the Prophet or not. He was very loyal to the Sufyanid branch of the Umayyads. He fought with Mu'āwiya at Ṣiffīn and played a prominent role after the death of Mu'āwiya II in 64/684 in the second civil war. He vacillated from one side to another, finally culminating in his defeat at the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ. See: Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 24, pp. 280-298 [no. 2920]; A. Dietrich, "Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī," *E.I.*,^{2} vol. 2, pp. 89-90.

[105]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 252. The exact wording is: "*dhahab wallāhi amīr al-mu'minīn wa kā'anna al-bay'ata min ba'dihi takhruju min āli abī sufyān ilā 'ali abī turāb, lā wallāhi lā narḍā bi-dhalik abadan*!"

[106]Muslim b. 'Uqba b. Riyāḥ b. As'ad b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Murrī who, like his partner al-Ḍaḥḥāk, was a very loyal servant of the Sufyanid house. Although he was a contemporary of the Prophet he is not counted as one of the Companions. He was with Mu'āwiya at Ṣiffīn. It is said that Mu'āwiya advised his son that if the people of Medina give him trouble he was to send Muslim against them, which in fact he later did. Muslim, although old and sick at the time, led the Syrians against the Anṣār in Medina for Yazīd at the battle of *al-Ḥarra* in 63 A.H. After defeating the Anṣār he continued on to Mecca but died on the way from his infirmities. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, vol. 58, pp. 102-115 [no. 7425]; H. Lammens, "Muslim b. 'Uḳba," *E.I.*,^{2} vol. 7, pp. 693-694.

[107]We suspect that Ibn A'tham makes this statement in order to show that even Mu'āwiya had a bad omen about the appointment of his son. Otherwise, the only other peculiar mention of Wednesday and Mu'āwiya is to be found in al-Mas'ūdī. He has it amongst his many diatribes on how ignorant and blindly obedient the Syrians were to Mu'āwiya. Supposedly, Mu'āwiya made the Muslims pray Friday prayers on Wednesday; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 41.

[108]This number is used as a reference to a large amount. See for example Qur'ān 9:80.

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they curse 'Alī and tell Mu'āwiya that they would rather have the caliphate go to Yazīd than to the son of 'Alī.[109] Mu'āwiya then gives permission for the rest of the people to come in; once they are in, he asks them whom they want as caliph. They reaffirm the first group's desire. Mu'āwiya tells al-Ḍaḥḥāk to give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd and order the people to follow suit. Mu'āwiya then orders his son to put on the clothes of the caliphate. Yazīd donned his father's turban, sword, and ring. He also wore "'Uthmān's shirt, the one that he was killed in, stained with blood" (*wa qad labisa qamīṣ 'uthmān alladhī qutila 'uthmān fīhi mulaṭṭakhan bi-l-dam*).[110] After this Mu'āwiya, who is constantly out of breath and having fainting spells, shows his son his will which he had already written before this whole episode. The main point of the will is that Yazīd should always favor the clan of 'Abd Shams over Banū Hāshim, the family of 'Uthmān over the family of 'Alī, and finally Banū Umayya over everyone else.[111] After that Mu'āwiya tells his son that he needs to be aware of the recalcitrant four. Mu'āwiya informs him about each of the four's personality, what each is likely to do, and what to expect from them. Actually Mu'āwiya describes exactly what each of these recalcitrant four would eventually do during Yazīd's caliphate. He then goes on to speak about each province of the empire and how to manage it. These predictions and advice do not concern us since we are certain that they are apocryphal.[112]

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[109]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 254. We are not certain which son is meant here. It is possible that the word 'son' is not specifying anyone but rather is juxtaposed to Mu'āwiya's son Yazīd. The exact wording is: "*thumma innahum sabbū 'alī ibn abī ṭālib raḍiya allāhu 'anhu wa qālū fīhi al-qabīḥ, wa qālū: innahu sāra ilaynā min al-'irāq fa-qatala surātanā wa abāda ḥaḍḍārānā wa lasnā nuḥibbu an taṣīra al-khilāfatu ilā waladihi, fa-ij'alhā fī waladika yazīd fa-innahu lanā raḍī wa li-jamī' al-muslimīn.*"

[110]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 255. This is most probably an emphasis to how the Umayyads in general, but Mu'āwiya in particular, owe their positions as caliphs to the idea of the 'vengeance for 'Uthmān.' See the previous chapter.

[111]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 257.

[112]We are referring to the narratives that have Mu'āwiya warn his son abut the recalcitrant four: 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr and al-Ḥusayn,

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Conclusion

It is clear that the Syrocentric version is the least popular among our sources. In fact we have found this version only in Ibn A'tham. The most popular is the Ḥijāz-centric version. Yet if we were to look at two important incidents in the historical narrative of Islamic history, one taking place before and another after the *bay'a* to Yazīd, the Syrocentric version starts to become more plausible. Now we are not saying that through logic we can attain historical truth. We suspect that Ibn A'tham and Ibn al-Athīr put the Ḥijāz-centric and the Ḥijāz vs. Syrocentric version into one story because it made logical sense to combine both stories together. Yet upon closer examination we have determined that each story belongs to a separate narrative.[113] Even with that in mind, we should not be dissuaded from looking at the two mentioned examples.

The first, which occurs before the *bay'a*, is the precedent set by 'Alī or rather by the Kūfans. We are referring to the election of al-Ḥasan as caliph. In Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ there is no mention of how al-Ḥasan became caliph, we are not told who appointed him.[114] Al-Ṭabarī is also silent, but he does tell us that after 'Alī was stabbed by Ibn Muljam he was asked by Jundab b. 'Abdallāh if they should give the *bay'a* to al-Ḥasan. 'Alī answers: " I will not order you and I am not forbidding you, you are

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predicting what each one will do after his death. With this description, sometimes separately, Mu'āwiya also tells Yazīd about the provinces of Syria, Ḥijāz, and Iraq in terms of what to expect from them and what to do for their residents. These can be found in the following with some noted differences: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāṭ al-kubrā*, Ne., vol. 7, p. 493. Here 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ is added to the names of the men, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and 'Abd al-Raḥmān are dropped; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, pp. 100, 144-146; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 322-323 [196/2-197/2]; Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, pp. 260-263. Ibn A'tham is the only author that adds two *ḥadīths* from the Prophet, one on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and the other on the authority of Mu'āwiya, cursing the killer of al-Ḥusayn. pp. 261-262; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, pp. 320-321; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, pp. 119-120.

[113] In our previous chapter in the "Coward" section we have shown that al-Ya'qūbī's story was the most logical but possibly the least truthful.

[114] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, pp. 119-120.

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more discerning."[115] There is also the campaign of one of 'Alī's commanders, Jāriya b. Qudāma al-Sa'dī, against Mu'āwiya's commander, Busr b. Abī Arṭā, in the Ḥijāz. The campaign lasted until after the assassination of 'Alī. It was at this time that Jāriya reached Mecca and asked them to give the *bay'a* to 'Alī, they told him that 'Alī was dead, so to whom should they give the *bay'a*? He answered: "Give the *bay'a* to the person that 'Alī's followers have given it."[116] We find out who it was in the next sentence, when Jāriya arrives in Medina and makes them give the *bay'a* to al-Ḥasan.[117] These two stories certainly make it clear that there was a strong desire on the part of the Kūfans, at least amongst 'Alī's partisans, to elect al-Ḥasan. Al-Ṭabarī, in his next chapter, tells us that in the year 40 A.H. al-Ḥasan was given the oath of allegiance as caliph and the first to do so was Qays b. Sa'd.[118] But this report certainly does not answer the question as to whether 'Alī appointed his son. And although it speaks of the actual act of the oath of allegiance by Qays b. Sa'd it does not answer the other questions as to the actions of the rest of the Kūfans. We have to go to Ibn A'tham to find both answers. We shall answer the second question first. Ibn A'tham tells us that when 'Alī died the people agreed on his son al-Ḥasan and gave the oath of allegiance.[119] As for the answer to the first question, Ibn A'tham has it in a letter from al-Ḥasan to Mu'āwiya. After al-Ḥasan becomes caliph he sends a letter to Mu'āwiya to

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[115] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 146-147 [3461/1] . The exact words are: "*mā āmurukum wa lā anhākum, antum abṣar.*"

[116] Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 188.

[117] Ibid. This story is also found in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, pp. 139-140 [3451/1-3452/2]; Ibn Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 732.

[118] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 158 [1/2] . Qays b. Sa'd was one of 'Alī's most ardent supporters. His father, Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, was the head of the Anṣār at whose house they met after the death of the Prophet.

[119] Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 148. The exact words are: "*fa-lammā maḍā 'alī ibn abī ṭālib raḍiya allāhu 'anhu ilā sabīl allāh ijtama'a al-nās ilā ibnihi al-ḥasan, fa-bāya'ūh wa raḍū bihi* ."

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ask him among other things to obey the new Commander of the Faithful, al-Ḥasan, who was appointed by the previous Commander of the Faithful 'Alī.[120] We are not arguing for 'Alī having appointed his son al-Ḥasan nor are we arguing that it was the Kūfans who elected al-Ḥasan.[121] We are pointing out that there is an inconsistency in the sources which does not seem to be solved by either of the Ḥijāz-centric or Ḥijāz vs. Syrocentric story. Further damage to these *bay'a* stories is done by the narratives which speak about Yazīd's first actions as caliph, which is the second incident we referred to above.

The second incident occurs immediately after the death of Mu'āwiya. One of Yazīd's first acts was his order to his governor in Medina to get the *bay'a* from three, most of the times only two, of the recalcitrant four.[122] Although it could be argued that Yazīd simply wanted to get the second of the customary two *bay'as* (the first is given when the caliph is heir apparent and the second when he ascends the position of the caliph

ate), it will be shown that the narratives below deny that the first ever occurred.

The earliest version of Yazīd's order, which was sent in a letter, comes to us

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[120]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 151. The exact words are: *"fa-inna amīr al-mu'minīn 'alī ibn abī ṭālib lammā nazala bihi al-mawtu wallānī hādhā al-amr min ba'dihi."*

[121]In fact, Mahmood Ibrahim believes that this is what happened. He writes that al-Ḥasan "was chosen to the Caliphate by some of the Kūfans." *The Social and Economic Background of the Umayyad Caliphate*, p. 335.

[122]It is only in Ibn A'tham that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr is mentioned. The other authors do not as 'Abd al-Raḥmān is supposed to have died before Mu'āwiya. His death date in the sources ranges from 53 and 58 A.H. Ibn A'tham, *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 10. The other person not mentioned often is the one who has always been problematic: 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar. He never rebelled so he does not pose the same problem as that of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and al-Ḥusayn for Muslim historians. Were they forced into giving the *bay'a* to Yazīd, and if they did then by making war on Yazīd are they considered rebels? Or was it that they never gave the *bay'a* and thus their actions were perfectly legitimate? One of the few Muslim historians who believed that not only did they give the *bay'a* but were in fact rebels is Ibn al-'Arabī, *al-'Awāṣim min al-qawāṣim*, pp. 194-210; For the importance of this kind of question but concerning a different situation see: Joseph Bradin Roberts, *Early Islamic Historiography*, pp. 116-126.

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from Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ. Khalīfa has two versions which are almost identical. The first narrative is in the words of an eyewitness, the messenger sent by Yazīd: whose name is Ruzayq, a *mawlā* of Mu'āwiya. In this story Ruzayq tells us that Yazīd had written to the governor of Medina, al-Walīd b. 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān about Mu'āwiya's death and asked him to send for that group and order them to give the *bay'a*. It is only when Marwān b. al-Ḥakam tells al-Walīd to send for them and if they refuse to kill them, that we find out who is meant. Al-Walīd tells Marwān: "You want me to kill al-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Zubayr?!"[123] Our next source, al-Balādhurī, adds 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar to the list. He tells us that the letter reads as follows: "take the *bay'a* from Ḥusayn, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr by force; don't be lenient or kind with them until they give the *bay'a*."[124] Al-Ya'qūbī, removes 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar but adds a little more color to the story. He has "bring al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and take the *bay'a* from them and if they resist cut off their heads and send the heads to me and take the *bay'a* from the people."[125] Al-Ṭabarī not only brings back 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar to the list he also lets us know that the recalcitrant three never gave the *bay'a*: "And there was nothing more important for Yazīd than getting the *bay'a* from those who refused to answer Mu'āwiya on the request for the *bay'a* to Yazīd when he called the people to give him the *bay'a*, and that he (Yazīd) was his heir apparent."[126] This is clearly an indication that at least in al-Ṭabarī's

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[123] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 144.

[124] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. 4, p. 299.

[125] Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 229. The exact words are: *"fa-aḥḍir al-ḥusayn ibn 'alī wa 'abdallāh ibn al-zubayr fa-khudhhumā bi-al-bay'a fa'in imtana'ā fa-iḍrib a'nāqahumā wa ib'ath ilayya bi-ru'ūsihimā, wa khudh al-nās bi-l-bay'a."* This last part, about taking the *bay'a* from the rest of the people, is consistent with al-Ya'qūbī's earlier narrative about Mu'āwiya not getting the *bay'a* by force from anyone. See above n. 55. Ibn A'tham's words are very similar to al-Ya'qūbī except that he adds 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr to the list, as was mentioned before. Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 5, p. 10.

[126] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 338 [216/2-217/2].The exact words are: *"wa lam yakun li-yazīd himmatun ḥīna waliya illā bay'at al-nafar alladhīna abaw 'alā mu'āwiya al-ijāba ilā bay'at*

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narrative Yazīd believed that his father never got the *bay'a* from the recalcitrant four. Thus for all of the above narrators the *bay'a* from the recalcitrant four never took place during Mu'āwiya's time. It can be argued that even the impression that they gave the *bay'a*, which most of the narrators tried to show, cannot be accepted if we accept Yazīd's letter to his governor of Medina.

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yazīd ḥīna da'ā al-nās ilā bay'atihi wa annahu waliyyyu 'ahdihi ba'dahu." See also Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, pp. 322-323; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 127. As for the contents of the letter, its words are very similar to al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* vol. 4, p. 299. The exact words are: "*fa-khudh ḥusayn wa 'abdallāh ibn 'umar wa 'abdallāh ibn al-zubayr bi-al-bay'a akhdhan shadīdan laysat fīhi rukhṣa ḥattā yubāyi'ū.*" See also Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 8, p. 149.

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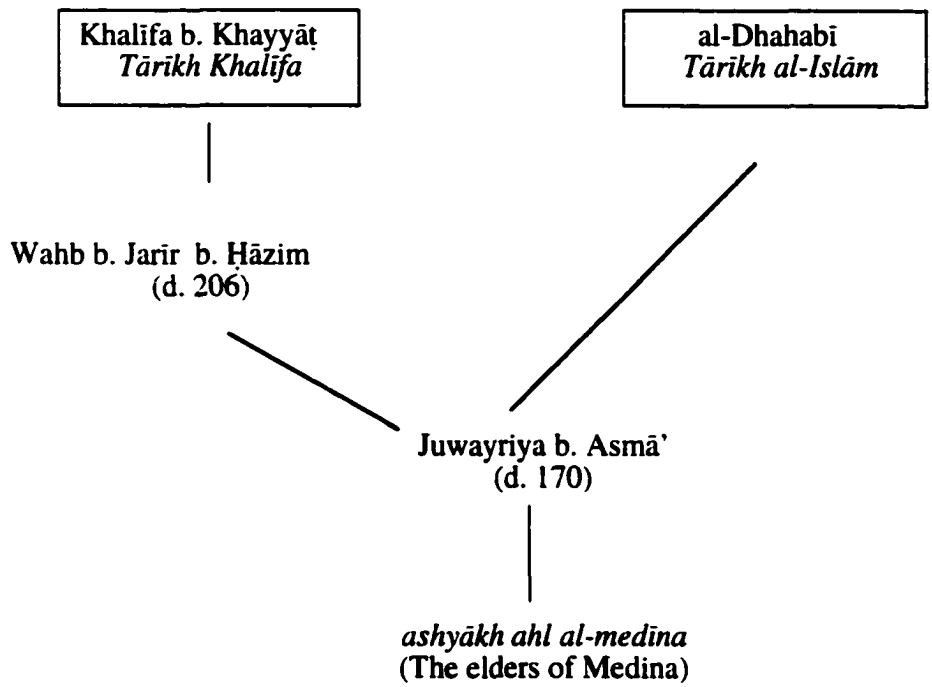

Figure 4.1 The Ḥijāz Centreic *isnād*.

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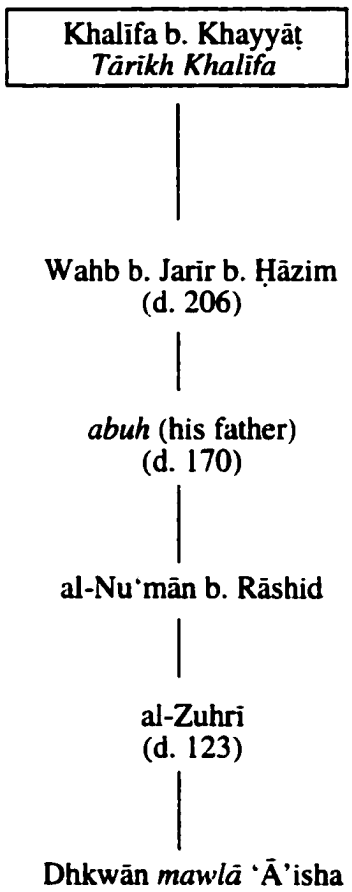

Figure 4.2 The Ḥijāz vs. Syrocentric *isnād*.

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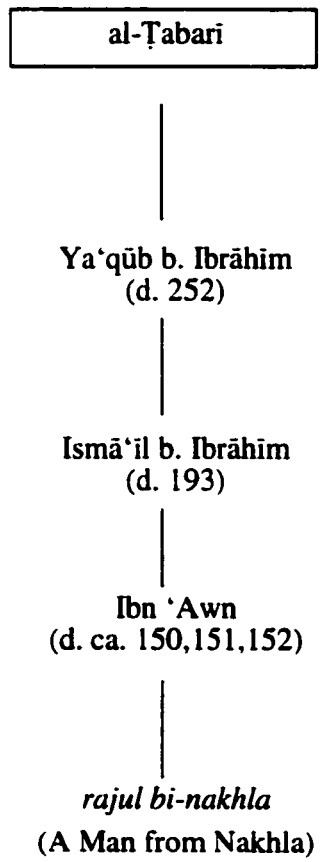

Figure 4.3 The *bay'a isnād* in al-Ṭabarī.

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CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Our purpose throughout this dissertation has been to understand the objective and approach of the narrators' and early Muslim historians' depiction of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. We have looked at three periods and ten episodes in the history of Mu'āwiya: the period before the civil war, the civil war itself, and the post-civil war era. In each of these periods Mu'āwiya's depiction has been dissimilar. These dissimilarities are not unforeseen, and are illustrated in the representation of Mu'āwiya's character: showing the greatest manipulation when it is a depiction during the civil war, and the least when it is during the pre-civil war. This is a natural outcome of the historical reality of the civil war and all the controversies that disseminated out of that period. Herein lies what could be characterized as one of the most substantial findings of this dissertation. These differences are found almost exclusively in the personality of Mu'āwiya, and not in the history of the events surrounding him. The two examples that enhanced our understanding of the objectives behind the depiction of Mu'āwiya include: the "set-up stories" in chapters three and five--in the civil war and post-civil war periods. We were able to comprehend the inner framework which the narrators and historians were utilizing for their narratives of Mu'āwiya. It comes as no surprise that we have not come across a set-up story for the pre-civil war Mu'āwiya. This period as demonstrated, has no framework and subsequently, no agenda.

We have found in the second chapter, that the pre-civil war depictions of Mu'āwiya's character were corresponding to nearly all of the personalities that were represented in the larger narrative. Thus, we find that at the execution of Khubayb,

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Mu'āwiya was portrayed as no more than a spectator, and that his character was functioning in an encumbered, less 'created' mode. In other words, Mu'āwiya's actions and presence at the execution of Khubayb were neither symbolic, nor an attempt to associate him with an objectionable act. It rather, occurred as a result of the various historians' choices of narrators. Even our second example, where there were clear attempts at doctoring the story by some of the historians (who sought to reduce the role of Mu'āwiya in the conquest of Cyprus) his presence could not be ignored. The event was so intrinsically associated with Mu'āwiya, that the historians who disliked him were forced to either avoid mentioning the conquest altogether or reduce its importance by means of the addition of the report on 'Umar's objection to the whole concept of naval warfare. Finally, even though our last episode of pre-civil war Mu'āwiya (the discussion with the Kūfan exiles) could have been fabricated easily, it is important to note that Mu'āwiya's character was articulate and able to argue with the opposition. In the portrayal of civil war Mu'āwiya this was not the case, his character was undoubtedly at the mercy of the historians' pens.

We have shown with regard to the civil war depiction of Mu'āwiya that the perspective within which these historians were working was overwhelmingly devoted to the events in Alī's camp. Mu'āwiya's role was confined to that of the antagonist and as such his character was not able to transcend this role. We have demonstrated that the historians achieved this in several ways. One such way is our set-up story, which reduced the complicated issues of the civil war by shaping them into a struggle between good ('Alī) and evil (Mu'āwiya). We have shown that the narrators and historians used terms and incidents from the Prophet's struggle against the Quraysh and super-imposed them on 'Alī's war with Mu'āwiya. It is only in the depiction of "civil war-Mu'āwiya" that we come across his character tarnished by his association with the

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active opponents to the Prophet. Mu'āwiya and his followers were easily stigmatized by the simple injection of Mu'āwiya's name among the confederates (*aḥzāb*) besieging Medina at the battle of the Trench. This association remained with Mu'āwiya and his followers throughout their subsequent struggle with 'Alī and his supporters. Indeed Mu'āwiya's character in these depictions was that of an evil, irreligious, cowardly usurper who was unworthy of the support of the other Muslims, let alone the caliphate. This re-working of Mu'āwiya's image has been sufficiently effective that one modern scholar, namely Madelung, has accepted it as a true reflection of a historical figure, rather than the fictional story telling of the classical Muslim historians.

It is the depiction of post-civil war Mu'āwiya that has permeated modern scholarship to a greater extent, than either of the two previous depictions. Modern scholars have based their conclusions on Mu'āwiya's policies as caliph from the post-civil war depictions found in the classical sources, namely the Arab shaykh and the despot. These conclusions, similar to the ones on civil war Mu'āwiya, are questionable because they lack an understanding of the complexity of our sources. We have argued that the two fundamental misunderstandings of modern scholars stem from: their reliance on the depictions of Mu'āwiya at the killing of Ḥujr, and the appointment of Yazīd. In the killing of Ḥujr, Mu'āwiya's depiction is directly correlated to the narrators' opinion concerning Ḥujr's personality. That is, if the narrator viewed Ḥujr as a rebel who deserved to be killed, Mu'āwiya's character was depicted in a very positive light. Whereas, if the narrator wanted to make plain that Ḥujr was a martyr, Mu'āwiya was depicted as a despot whose actions were wholly unjustified. On the other hand, Mu'āwiya's depiction in the Yazīd appointment is a little bit more complicated, because the narratives' objectives affected the depictions of Mu'āwiya in a more indirect manner than the ones in the case of Ḥujr. What we have uncovered in this episode are the attempts of regional and political interests trying to legitimize their

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acceptance of Mu'āwiya's appointment of his son, Yazīd, as heir apparent.

This exercise in source criticism if utilized, will definitely enhance our understanding of other central personalities in early Islamic history. A more ambitious project would involve the analysis of multiple personalities in the classical Islamic sources. It would be far more conducive for us to sift through the historical narratives, not just on one personality, but on the whole corpus, in an effort to systematize it. If we utilize the above methodology (which is akin to the Biblical criticism of the early twentieth century) our results will be a greater understanding of Islamic historiography, which is a prerequisite for us to gain a better understanding of Islamic history. Although there has not been any systemization of such work on the scale of Western Biblical criticism, the student of Islamic history cannot avoid becoming aware of "streams" of redactional activity in the Islamic narratives. Scholars such as Hodgson, Waldman, Noth, and most recently Conrad and Donner have uncovered some of these "streams," such as the pietistic, regional, sectarian, and tribal influences on the Islamic narratives. We have demonstrated in this project (especially in our chapters on Ḥujr and Yazīd) the critical insights that can be derived, once we have identified the influences of these "streams" in our sources. We might never come to a definitive understanding of what occurred in the first two centuries of Islamic civilization (probably due to our own skepticism as much as from the lack of contemporary sources) but will begin to understand how and what shaped the early Muslim historians' opinions on these two centuries. Once we determine what is historically 'accurate' and what is mere opinion, we can then begin to get a much clearer picture of our subject. In closing, Mu'āwiya, after the above exercise, can not be seen as a mere machinator who usurped the position of caliph.

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APPENDIX A

WHEN DID MU'ĀWIYA BECOME CALIPH?

Our sources inform us that Mu'āwiya became caliph after the failure of the arbitration meeting in Dhū'-al-Qa'da in the year 37 A.H.[1] The usual story is that immediately after the breakdown of negotiations, the Syrians gave Mu'āwiya the *bay'a* for the caliphate. There is also the statement that "'Alī, peace be upon him, used to be called Commander of the Faithful in Iraq, and Mu'āwiya used to be called commander in Syria; so when 'Alī, peace be upon him, got killed, Mu'āwiya was called Commander of the Faithful."[2] The words used here are *amīr al-mū'minīn* and *amīr*, respectively. Al-Dhahabī agrees with the above statements; he also believes that when Mu'āwiya prepared to go to Ṣiffīn the Syrians gave him the *bay'a* as governor and not as caliph.[3] But al-Ṭabarī's statement on who was called what in each province is given under the year 40 A.H. and this contradicts his earlier statement that Mu'āwiya was given the oath of allegiance as caliph in the year 37 A.H.[4] When exactly Mu'āwiya became caliph seems to be problematic. There is evidence that points to Mu'āwiya not

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[1]Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfa*, p. 115; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 7, p. 406; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 179; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 71 [3360/1]; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 150. Ibn al-Jawzī has it one year later in 38 A.H.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 684; al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, vol. 3, p. 552. Al-Dhahabī also has it under the year 38 A.H.

[2]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 5, p. 161 [4/2-5/2]; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 4, p. 167. The only difference is that the epitaph after 'Alī's name reads "May God be pleased with him."

[3]Al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, vol. 3, p. 539. The exact words are: "*fa-bāya'ūh 'alā dhālik amīran ghayra khalīfa.*" See also Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 82, where Naṣr tells us that the Syrians gave Mu'āwiya the oath of allegiance only to ask for the blood of 'Uthmān and not to seek the caliphate, which they believed should be decided on the basis of a *shūrā*.

[4]Al-Ṭabarī also tells us that after the two arbitrators disagreed and separated the Syrians gave Mu'āwiya the oath of allegiance for the caliphate. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 97 [3396/1].

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wanting the caliphate in his war with 'Alī, but simply wanting to be autonomous in Syria.[5] But there is also evidence which shows that Mu'āwiya was in fact known as caliph if not before then certainly during the war at Ṣiffīn.

Just call me amīr

There are a number of narratives that show that Mu'āwiya not only was not caliph, but more importantly that he did not want to be caliph, particularly before the arbitration agreement, and that in fact he was trying to remain the autonomous governor of Syria and had no ambitions for the caliphate. Among the evidence for such a conclusion are the many letters he supposedly authored before the start of the war with 'Alī.

The above position is clearly spelled out in a letter to 'Alī in which Mu'āwiya writes that he will cause no trouble if 'Alī allows him to have Syria with the stipulation that he is not under 'Alī's suzerainty.[6] Yet in another narrative, also in the form of a letter, Mu'āwiya states that he will give the *bay'a* to 'Alī in exchange for the governorship of Syria.[7] There are also the letters in which Syria is not mentioned but it is clear that Mu'āwiya was not thinking of the caliphate before the war.

One such letter, pre-Ṣiffīn, that conveys this idea is addressed to the people of Medina. Mu'āwiya states that the caliphate should be taken away from 'Alī and made into a consultative matter, following the precedent of 'Umar.[8] This indeed disclaims that he thought of himself as caliph at that time. There is also the letter from Mu'āwiya

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[5]Actually, Martin Hinds comes to the same conclusion in his article "The Ṣiffīn Arbitration Agreement," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17 (1972), pp. 93-113.

[6]Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 22.

[7]Al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām*, vol. 3, pp. 539-540.

[8]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 416.

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Mu'āwiya wants 'Abdallāh to be caliph.[9] Even letters that were fabricated by Mu'āwiya had no indication that he thought of himself as caliph.

An example of such a letter is the one that Mu'āwiya supposedly fabricated from Qays b. Sa'd to himself. In this letter Mu'āwiya addresses himself as *al-amīr* Mu'āwiya.[10] Before this last letter Mu'āwiya had been corresponding with Qays b. Sa'd ('Alī's first governor over Egypt) to try to persuade him to come to his side. In one of these letters Mu'āwiya promises Qays b. Sa'd and his family 'governorships' if he would leave 'Alī and follow Mu'āwiya. Mu'āwiya's word choice is rather peculiar. Mu'āwiya tells Qays that if he aids him in calling for blood vengeance for 'Uthmān he will give him power (*sulṭān*) over Iraq as long as Mu'āwiya has power (*sulṭān*).[11] It is curious that Mu'āwiya does not use the words *wālī* or *amīr* for the appointment of Qays nor the words *khalīfa* or *amīr al-mū'minīn* for himself. It could be that our narrator believed it was too early in the game for Mu'āwiya to be thinking of the caliphate. Most of our narratives, as shown above, have Mu'āwiya become caliph right after the arbitration agreement. But Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī's and 'Amr's words beg to differ.

The Arbitration Incident

In the arbitration agreement 'Amr and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī discuss removing both men and making the matter, the choice of caliph, a *shūrā*. There upon 'Amr supposedly goes back on his word and only removes 'Alī and confirms Mu'āwiya in

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[9]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 419.

[10]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 553 [3243/1].

[11]Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 98.

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his position.[12] Now, what position is 'Amr confirming Mu'āwiya in? Is it the caliphate or the governorship of Syria? Ibn Kathīr believes that 'Amr's action was to confirm Mu'āwiya in the caliphate. In his explanation as to why 'Amr would not remove Mu'āwiya he tells us "'Amr b. al-'Āṣ saw that leaving the people without an *imām* would lead people astray .... So he confirmed Mu'āwiya."[13]

Al-Mas'ūdī has a totally different version. He tells us that, after the agreement, 'Amr went to Mu'āwiya and told him that he holds in his hand the document which removes 'Alī and gives 'Amr the right to appoint whomever he wants. 'Amr implies that he will take the caliphate for himself, but Mu'āwiya lays a trap for 'Amr in which he forces the *bay'a* out of him.[14]

According to al-Jāḥiẓ, Mu'āwiya was not a caliph nor did the arbitration agreement lead to his attaining the caliphate; in fact he dismisses much of story of the arbitration and more specifically the agreement itself. He points out that neither Abū Mūsā nor 'Amr had the power or legitimacy to appoint a caliph, and in fact they did not. He argues that 'Alī only agreed to these two personalities since any decision agreed upon by both can be easily dismissed if it was contrary to his liking.[15] But, even with both al-Jāḥiẓ's and al-Mas'ūdī's negation of Mu'āwiya being confirmed as caliph by 'Amr at the arbitration, there is other evidence that shows that Mu'āwiya was known as caliph not only before the arbitration but even before the war at Ṣiffīn.

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[12] Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 179; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 71 [2359/1]. The exact words are: "*wa anā akhla' ṣāḥibahu kamā khala'hu, wa uthabbitu ṣāḥibī mu'āwiya.*"

[13] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 294.

[14] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 2, pp. 411-412.

[15] Al-Jāḥiẓ, "Risāla fī al-ḥakamayn," pp. 371-376.

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Call me amīr al-mū'minīn

In a speech, before Ṣiffīn to his followers, Mu'āwiya enumerates the reasons why he should be caliph. He tells his audience that the Syrians are on par with the people of Iraq and the people of the Ḥijāz in deciding the caliphate. He therefore deserves the caliphate since the Syrians gave him *bay'a*, much as the people of Iraq and the people of the Ḥijāz gave the *bay'a* to 'Alī.[16] In a totally separate narrative the same historian, Ibn A'tham, tells us that the people of Mesopotamia were 'Uthmāniyyūn (i.e., pro-'Uthmān) and thus gave the *bay'a* to Mu'āwiya and came under his power.[17] There is no clear indication what Mu'āwiya's position was vis-à-vis the oath of allegiance nor is it clear what is meant by 'under his power.' It is more than likely that in the above two texts, especially the first, the oath of allegiance was for the caliphate.

Al-Ṭabarī does the very same when he writes, "in this year--I mean the year 36--'Amr b. al-'Āṣ gave the *bay'a* to Mu'āwiya and agreed to fight 'Alī with him."[18] Now, although we are again not certain about to what purpose the *bay'a* was given, the insertion of the phrase 'and agreed to fight 'Alī with him' implies that there were two actions, the *bay'a* and the fighting. This implies that the *bay'a* was for other than fighting 'Alī. Adrian Brockett believes it was indeed the *bay'a* for the caliphate.[19] Another incident which also requires the use of some analogy from us supposedly takes place during the battle of Ṣiffīn.

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[16]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 428. This argument is in the same vein of the Syrocentric argument discussed in chapter five.

[17]Ibn A'tham, *al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 350.

[18]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 4, p. 558 [3249/1-3250/1].

[19]Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī volume XVI The Community Divided*, trans. Adrian Brockett (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), p. 191, n. 1154.

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In this story, 'Amr suggest to Mu'āwiya, during the heat of the battle, that he should duel with 'Alī. Mu'āwiya tells 'Amr: "By God, you know that until now 'Alī has never been beaten; you only want me to be killed in order that you may get the caliphate after me!"[20] This last statement implies that Mu'āwiya thought of himself as caliph during that time. Finally, there is the outright statements that occur in Naṣr b. Muzāḥim's *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* indicating that Mu'āwiya was indeed called caliph by his partisans.

The earliest narrative is found in a poem by one Ayman b. Khuraym al-Asadī lamenting that Mu'āwiya did not send any help to the Banū Asad when al-Ashtar attacked them before the Syrians and Iraqis met at Ṣiffīn. Ayman addresses Mu'āwiya as "Commander of the Faithful."[21] We assume, since the poem is placed right after the incident, that it was composed before the battle of Ṣiffīn. An even clearer statement of Mu'āwiya is being recognized as caliph is the story of one al-Ḥajjāj b. Khuzayma.[22] Al-Ḥajjāj goes to Syria immediately after 'Uthmān's assassination. He meets Mu'āwiya and asks him: "O Commander of the Faithful, do you recognize me?"[23]

Conclusion

There is no doubt that it was only after the abdication of al-Ḥasan that Mu'āwiya became recognized by the nascent Islamic community as caliph. But as the above evidence shows there is still some confusion as to when exactly Mu'āwiya was

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[20]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, vol. 7, p. 274.

[21]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 13. The exact words are:
abligh amīra al-mū'minīna risālatan
min 'ātibīna masā'irin anjādī

[22]We are not told who this person is or why exactly Mu'āwiya was able to recognize him.

[23]Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 77.

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recognized as caliph by his own partisans, the Syrians. The evidence from his supposed letters to 'Alī and his governor Qays b. Sa'd only add to the confusion, as Mu'āwiya never gives himself the title of Commander of the Faithful. Still, these letters can not be relied upon as there is an example of one sent from 'Alī to Mu'āwiya in which the former also forgets to put any title after his own name. It simply reads "from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān."[24] Yet the other evidence, of his partisans calling him Commander of the Faithful, is more consistent. Therefore it must be recognized, as was shown, that at least for the Syrians Mu'āwiya was the Commander of the Faithful during if not before the battle of Ṣiffīn.

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[24] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 22.

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